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THE LIFE

OF

GENERAL DE ZIETEN,

COLONEL OF THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN REGIMENT OF HUSSAR-LIFEGUARDS, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF THE BLACK EAGLE, ETC.

BY MADAME DE BLUMENTHAL,

FIRST LADY OF THE BEDCHAMBER TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DOWAGER-PRINCESS HENRY OF PRUSSIA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY THE REV. B. BERESFORD, P. D.

VOL. I.

"HOW SLEEP THE BRAVE, WHO SINK TO REST
"BY ALL THEIR COUNTRY'S WISHES BLEST!
"WHEN SPRING WITH DEWY FINGERS COLD,
"RETURNS TO DECK THEIR HALLOW'D MOULD,
"SHE THERE SHALL DRESS A SWEETER SOD,
"THAN FANCY'S FEET HAVE EVER TROD.
"BY FAIRY HANDS THEIR KNELL IS RUNG,
"BY FORMS UNSEEN THEIR DIRGE IS SUNG;
"THERE HONOUR COMES, A PILGRIM GREY,
"TO BLESS THE TURF THAT WRAPS THEIR CLAY,
"AND FREEDOM SHALL AWHILE REPAIR,
"TO DWELL A WEEPING HERMIT THERE!

COLLINS."

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TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE DUKE AND DUTCHESS OF YORK, THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS OF A HERO, THEY BOTH OF THEM KNEW AND ADMIRED, ARE INSCRIBED WITH THE HIGHEST RESPECT, BY THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S MOST OBLIGED AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE Reign of Frederick the Great makes an Epoch in the History of the World. His military talents were unrivalled, and he became the acknowledged Master in the Art of War to every Nation in Europe.

The most glorious period of his reign, the Seven years' War, must be peculiarly interesting to Britons. He was then the ally of England, and we were the partners of his Triumphs. The names of Granby and Wolfe were not more familiar to our ears than those of the Prussian Generals,

and every street in the metropolis and every village in the country, displayed the Testimonies of our Admiration of their heroic Monarch.

The increasing importance of our army in the present circumstances of Europe, makes every lesson in the military science peculiarly valuable; but in presenting to the public the life of one of the greatest Generals, whose reflected lustre augmented the glory of Frederick the Great, we not only exhibit a Picture most interesting to professional men, but an Example of the brightest Virtues which can adorn humanity.

The life of this hero is remarkable for the vicissitudes of his fortune. He was involved in early youth in a variety of difficulties, without protection, and without advice. Zieten was indebted to himself alone, for the distinction which his eminent virtues and manly conduct deserved, and obtained. Envy and calumny repeated-

ly

ly plunged him into disgrace, and drove him from the service of his country. Many years did the displeasure of Frederick the Great continue, but the truth could not always be concealed from his penetrating mind. At the time of the most imminent public danger, Zieten was reconciled to his sovereign, and to the end of his illustrious life, enjoyed in the highest degree, his confidence and friendship.

To do justice to the great actions of Zieten, it was necessary to take a view of the war. This part of the work contains many important particulars and interesting anecdotes, never before published, and also his private correspondence with Frederick the Great.

To delineate the private and domestic life of Zieten was by far the most agreeable part of the Author's work. She deemed it necessary to represent him in his Childhood, Youth, Manhood, and Age, as a subject, a husband, and a father; and thus

thus to demonstrate by facts the moral and religious principles of this excellent man.

It is superfluous to say that no biography can possess a higher degree of authenticity than that now offered to the public; the author, a person of the first distinction, not only possessing herself means of information much more extensive than usually falls to the lot of those who undertake to write the actions of illustrious persons, but many officers of high rank in the Prussian army being still living, who were witnesses of the principal facts.

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EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE REPRESENTING THE BATTLE OF TEIN.

(See page 135 of this volume.)

TEIN is an unfortified town, situated in the circle of Bechen in the kingdom of Bohemia. Two battalions of Prussian grenadiers, detached from the regiments of St. Surin and Jeetz, which were posted therein, were attacked on the 9th of October, 1744, by an advanced-guard of Hungarians, consisting of ten thousand men. Being obliged to yield to superior numbers, the two battalions, after having acquired much honour, retreated in good order, and in the following manner.

A A A. Represents the approach of the Hungarian hussars, who having formed themselves at B, attacked the advanced-guard of the Prussians at C, and repulsed them to the redoubt D.

E E E. The march of the Croats and the hussars, the former of whom occupied the brick-kilns F, and the house G, from whence they kept up a brisk fire upon the redoubt H, defended by fifty grenadiers, as well as upon the bridge I.

K. The battalion of St. Surin, posted opposite the bridge.

L. Two companies of Jeetz' regiment, whose cannon covered the sluice M.

N. A picket-guard of twenty men of the battalion of Jeetz, posted for the defence of the sluice.

O. A corps of reserve in the public square.

P. Po-

P. Position of the Prussian hussars, who after having passed the Muldaw and formed themselves at Q, attacked the enemy at R, and drove them into the forest. But perceiving that the Croats were pressing upon the redoubt and attempting to pass the bridge and the sluice, — that, the hussars, with the Croats mounted behind them, were crossing the Muldaw at R and S, and forming at T and V, the regiment of Zieten repassed the river to gain the spot W, while that of Ruesch, passing the bridge and traversing the town, advanced to X, accompanied by two battalions who formed an open square at Y. The regiment of Reusch advanced to b, along the hollow way a a. The enemy advanced to Z. The fire began on both sides. The Croats who had stolen into the covered way, forced the regiment of Ruesch to fall back to c. Encouraged by this success, and quitting their advantageous position, they left the hollw way, and attacked St. Surin and Rueh. The regiment of the latter, sustained by wo of Zieten's squadrons who arrived fror the other wing, fell upon them. The

greater

greater part were killed or made prisoners: the wounded on both sides were put into waggons, which were placed in the centre; and the Prussians, after having repulsed the enemy, continued their march without interruption.


B1.
B1.
C
C
C
A
A
A
E
E
E
D
D
B2.
B3.
H
G
G
Maredorf

THE

LIFE OF DE ZIETEN.

JOHN Joachim de Zieten was born on the 18th of May, 1699, at Wustrau, a village belonging to his family, situated in the county of Ruppin, seven German miles from Berlin. His father, Joachim Matthias de Zieten, was a country gentleman who resided on his own estate, unemployed either in a civil or military capacity. He married Elizabeth Catherine de Jurgas of the house of Ganzer, by whom he had four daughters and two sons; of the latter one died in his infancy.

M. de Zieten's fortune did not exceed five hundred rix-dollars a year, which arose from the produce of his Wustrau estate. * On this moderate income did this gentleman and his family, whose wants were few, live, as people lived in good old times, towards the close of the seventeenth century. The tricks and chicaneries of his wealthy neighbours which often bore hard upon him, alone could make him feel the want of fortune, and under the pressure of these injurious proceedings he commonly displayed a command of temper not a little rare among the old Germans.

Young de Zieten, in his father's house, was utterly unprovided with the means of instruction or culture. Left to himself at a time of life in which, at the present day, young men of condition are engaged in their studies and various exercises, his natural dispositions alone developed themselves and gave him that character

* The village of Wustrau was at this time possessed by three different proprietors. M. de Zieten's portion amounted to about a sixth part.

racter of originality which the hand of art in polishing would have much defaced.

He employed the leisure of his early days in forming plans for the future. The void that prevailed in the life of his father, the small fortune which one day was to fall to his share, the narrow and gloomy limits of the mansion-house, to which he found himself confined, instead of afflicting and dismaying him, tended only to inflame his courage and foster his ambition. When yet a mere child his imagination was busied in embellishing the inheritance of his ancestors, and when grown old he has often acknowledged, that the plans he afterwards executed were in part the dreams of his youth.

He betrayed from his early childhood a decided partiality for every thing that related to the military life. Whenever a soldier passed through Wustrau on a furlough, a circumstance that rarely happened, young Zieten followed him closely, could never sufficiently admire him, and was eagerly solicitous of the honour of

imitating and resembling him. The Prussian soldiers, it is well known, wear their hair tied in a queue. Every Saturday young Zieten requested his father's leave to go to Ruppin, a German mile from Wustrau, where a soldier of the garrison with whom he had formed an acquaintance dressed his hair à la prussienne, and made him a large queue well stiffened and powdered, which served to ornament him for the ensuing week. He was at this time nine years of age.

Nature had endowed him with a quick perception of right and wrong, and with the strongest propensity to resist oppression. These dispositions manifested themselves from his very childhood and rendered him a correct and judicious observer of every thing that passed within the sphere of his notice. The unbecoming procedure of his neighbours irritated his mind, his father's mortifications became his own, and in the bitterness of his soul he has been often heard to swear he would one day put an end to them.

When

When he was thirteen years old, his parents provided him with a kind of tutor, a man whose irregularity of conduct ill fitted him for the task. Young Zieten soon perceived this and withdrew his esteem and confidence. The preceptor one day preparing to inflict a bodily correction upon his pupil, the youth repulsed him with disdain, impeached him to his father, and having supported his accusations with proper proof, the pedagogue was immediately dismissed.

At the age of fourteen he left Wustrau to enter into the service of Frederick William I. king of Prussia. His father procured him the post of standard-bearer in the regiment of Schwendy (now Zenge) which after having been engaged in the siege of Stralsund, was garrisoned at Spandau, Frankfort on the Oder, Cottbus, Treuenbrietzen and Belitz.

His relations were unable to furnish him either with letters of recommendation or money. He was low of stature and of a puny unhealthy appearance. Without patron, friend or

or fortune, he felt himself in his new career in a strange city, as if he had just dropped from the clouds. His father, indeed, had some slight knowledge of general de Schwendy; they were neighbours and their estates bordered upon each other, but they had scarce any intercourse together. M. de Zieten strongly recommended to his son to take the first opportunity of paying his court to the general and of soliciting his patronage. He promised himself great advantage from this step, and we shall see in what manner it ended. The young man appears before his general, executes his father's commission and finishes with the usual phrase, that he was come to pay his devoirs to him. "Well, pay them then," said Schwendy with the most insulting coolness; and without adding a civil word either for the youth or his parents, he opened the window and looking out of it, turned his back upon his visiter, whom he left standing near the door. Zieten did not long remain in this awkward situation; deeply hurt at the rude reception he had met with, he flung out of the chamber without taking the least pains to dissemble his resentment

sentment. He was never able to forget this scene, and even in his old age could never speak of it without the keenest indignation.

Although unpatronized in his new career, and having entered it under the most unpromising auspices, his zeal for his profession remained uncooled, and his genius lost nothing of its original energy. On the contrary, it seemed as if oppression fortified his breast, and that the neglect in which he was vegetating nourished his ambition and imparted new elasticity and vigour to his mind. Thus situated he was not, however, the less alive to insult, nor less prone to avenge his wrongs. The first person he chastised was a veteran serjeant who had behaved improperly to him. He wounded him desperately in the face and escaped unhurt himself. Soon after this, he crippled one of his comrades. This early courage, though it bordered upon ferocity, acquired young Zieten that esteem for which his dimunitive stature and undignified appearance seemed at first to have disqualified him, and procured him a kind of relief.

After

After having passed some years in learning the detail of the military service, frequently mounting guard in the capacity of a common sentinel, and in acquitting himself of every duty his station imposed upon him, he was appointed enseign on the 7th of July, 1720. In a short time the regiment to which he belonged was given to count de Schwerin, afterwards field-marshal-general of Prussia. The count, who was a native of the dutchy of Mecklenburg, had entered early into the army in the service of his own country, and after having retired for a while to his paternal estate, he again launched into the military life under the banners of the king of Prussia. He had many imitators among the young and wealthy part of his own countrymen, who were eager to serve in his regiment, into which he admitted them to the prejudice of the senior officiers, and of Zieten in particular, whom he disliked on account of his low stature and the shrillness of his voice, which he said was not formed to give the word of command. Zieten after finding himself, in four successive instances, supersceded to make way for others, demanded

manded his dismission with reluctance, and immediately obtained it.

This first essay of the military life was ill calculated to soften the asperity of his manners. Of this I shall give the reader a single example. The Germans, it is well known, have always had the reputation of great drinkers. This vice which prevailed in the Prussian army was particularly in vogue in the regiment of Schwerin, and the following custom was always religiously observed. The officier of the day took care to provide the guard-house with a hogshead of beer, which he and his comrades never failed to empty. Each in his turn was obliged to swallow at one draft a full quart-mug: He who could not perform this feat was derided, and none were allowed on any pretext whatever to be exempted from this Bacchanalian exercise. This proved no small embarrassment to young Zieten whose puny stomach was unable to contain such floods of beer, and who of course was extremely averse to the ceremony. He was at a loss how to act in order to avoid a thousand disagreeable contingencies

tingencies and being every moment under the necessity of fighting a duel. At last he was able to prevail on his comrades to allow him, instead of emptying the monstrous jug, to drink a small glass of brandy, which was less disagreeable to him as well as less detrimental to his constitution.

To this excess in drinking, to these gross customs which bore the stamp of the age and which fashion had rendered honourable, were joined excesses of another kind more conformable to nature, to which young Zieten, whose passions now began to unfold themselves with ardour, found himself more inclined, and which he had begun to teach himself to think he might indulge with impunity. How fortunate was it for him that he was checked in the beginning of a career which threatened such mischief to his moral character! In his peaceful retirement he had full leisure for reflection, to foster those meditations of which he himself was the subject, and to prepare in silence for his real destination.

Ar-

Ardent, ambitious and naturally inclined to excess, he might have been plunged into inextricable difficulties, had he met with that reception at his first entrance into life which is commonly given to young men favoured by fortune. He would probably have lost sight of, or never attained the splendid part he was one day to act. His lot involved him in a series of perplexities, recalled his attention to himself, and taught him that he could only gratify the ambition with which he was inspired and advance his fortunes, by depending on himself alone and founding all his plans and all his hopes on the basis of real desert. To listen to such dictates and to follow such counsels both genius and resolution were required. Zieten was not deficient in either the one or the other, and thus it was that the first germes of that moral force, that vigour of character which were afterwards so much admired, developed themselves in his young mind.

After having quitted the army he had no other resource than that of retiring to his own estate,

estate, where his father had died in the year 1719. His first care was to examine into the true state of his affairs, to put them in order, to make provision for his mother and sisters, and to unravel the complicated law-suits in which his father had been so long involved with his neighbours, and which not only had brought him to the brink of ruin, but likewise contributed to shorten his days.

In spite of all these occupations which were well calculated to engross his whole attention, he never lost sight of that sphere of greater activity in which he hoped one day to be engaged. His inclination for a military life was far from being abated; he meditated upon the subject with unremitted ardour, yet two years elapsed before he was enabled to realize his wishes. At the expiration of this time, after having paid a visit to his old comrades of the regiment he had quitted, he was induced by curiosity to visit Berlin to be present at a gala which was given by the French ambassador.

One morning when he was on the parade opposite the royal palace, Frederick William I. observed

observed him; and his regimentals, which he had not left off wearing, having caught the attention of the king, he inquired who he was. Zieten on satisfying his majesty's curiosity, mentioned likewise the reasons that had induced him to quit the army; but not having expressed any desire to resume the profession, nothing farther at this time took place.

Some months after this, being obliged to attend the progress of a law-suit at Berlin, he learnt with great satisfaction, that de Wuthenow's dragoons, who were quartered in Prussia, were shortly to be augmented from five squadrons to ten. This information revived all his hopes. He anticipated the long-wished-for moment of changing the sedentary and inanimate life he now led, for scenes of greater activity and pursuits more adapted to his genius. He was determined, however, not to avail himself of the recommendation or interposition of any one: His fortune, he was resolved, should be his own work; — such was his unconquerable aversion to every thing that looked like patronage and dependency.

Thus

Thus determined, he frequently appeared on the parade, and though he was aware that his diminutive size would be far from recommending him in the eyes of Frederick William, he was not the less eager to appear before that prince and to attract his notice. To further his design he had again taken care to dress in regimentals, and the king soon remarked him. His majesty not only asked his name, but having received the same answer as was formerly given, he made him an offer of a new commission. It may be easily imagined with what readiness Zieten accepted the gracious proposal; he ventured, however, to stipulate conditions which might indemnify him in point of rank for the time he had lost in his retreat and the partiality shewn to the Mecklenburg officers who, as it has been already observed, had been put over his head. Having received his majesty's assurances that he should rank agreeably to his wishes, he entered into Wuthenow's dragoons as fourth lieutenant.

It was in the year 1726 that Zieten, now twenty-seven years of age, thus launched for the

the second time into that element for which nature seemed to have formed him. Full of hope and ardour, and painting in the most vivid colours the picture of his future life, he was far from dreaming that vexations of a more disagreeable nature awaited him in the cavalry, than those he had experienced in the infantry. He repaired to his new quarters, but before he arrived there he had a disaster to encounter which nearly cost him his life.

When he was on the point of setting out for his garrison * in the month of February, a staff-officier of his own regiment, who had come to Berlin to procure of supply of horses, having been informed that Zieten was appointed lieutenant, consigned a quantity of them to his care. The officer set out a day before him and passed the Vistula with no small difficulty, as the ice was beginning to break up. When Zieten arrived the next day on the bank of the river, the ice was already afloat and he was

* Tilsit, a town in the Prussian Lituania.

was obliged to take a circuitous way of more than twenty German miles to cross the river over the bridge of Naugarten. This tottering structure had been often impaired by the inundation of the Vistula, and at this moment seemed on the point of giving way. What could he do? It was necessary to avail himself of the present instant, and Zieten accordingly began to march the horses over the bridge, and remained behind himself to presserve order. During these proceedings the Polish toll-man shut the gate on the opposite side and refused to suffer the horses, which were now crowded on the bridge, to pass till the toll was duly paid. This incident rendered the personal interference of Zieten absolutely necessary, and he was obliged to make his way over the narrow and crazy bridge, justling along by the horses which now began to grow unruly and much startled at the dashing of the waters. Scarcely had he, by dint of threats and promises, prevailed on the man to throw open the gate, scarcely had the horses in the rear lightened the bridge, which their weight had hitherto tended not a little to keep entire, when one

one arch after another began to yield to the violence of the current, and the last horse having touched the bank, the last arch gave way, and the whole bridge disappeared in a few minutes.

Thus did Zieten owe his safety to the merest accident. Had he remained in the rear, and had not the well-timed perverseness of the toll-man forced him to quit that dangerous post, he would most probably have been swallowed up with the bridge, and found a grave in the vistula. But having escaped this danger, he seemed to derive new intrepidity from it, and became the better fitted to encounter the perils that still awaited him.

Being happily arrived at his garrison, he gave himself up with unremitting ardour to his vocation, and the more so as the cavalry was a new school to him; and being incapable of doing any thing by halves, he resolved to accomplish himself in a profession, in which it was one day his lot to act so brilliant a part. However after having been present at the first

review of his regiment, he was obliged at the beginning of winter to solicit for leave of absence in order to terminate a tedious lawsuit which had for so many years employed and embittered the life of his father. The difficulties he had to combat engaged him not only to solicit a prolongation of his furlough but likewise to make direct application to the king for the purpose of hastening a definitive sentence. The sentence was accordingly obtained and this unhappy suit which had lasted forty years, was at length determined in favour of the family of Zieten. After having settled this weighty business, and, at the same time, redressed many abuses and reformed many irregularities of less moment; after having obtained justice against his neighbours and restored peace and competency to his aged mother, he left Wustrau in the month of February, 1727, and returned to his garrison.

This journey proved as perilous as the former. Zieten had just enlisted two very promising Saxon deserters, and was under the necessity of escorting them himself to the regiment.

ment. He set off with them from Berlin in a sledge on a clear frosty day, but they were hardy arrived at Schwedt, when it suddenly began to thaw, and Zieten was obliged to change his sledge for a waggon. He arrived with much difficulty at Dantzick, but was unable to proceed any further on account of the melting of the snow which had damaged the roads. In vain he endeavoured to truck his waggon for a carriage of more solid construction, or to inquire for some travelling companions in order to be accommodated with double the number of posthorses. He offered likewise considerable sums to all the carriers of the place to induce them, to take him further on; not one of them, however, would hear him, as they were all fearful of inundations and the breaking up of the ice.

Of all measures to be chosen, that of remaining at Dantzick and waiting for the thaw seemed the least conformable to his impatience. He quickly came to a determination, and went on in his waggon with the two recruits over the Frisch-haff, an arm of the sea lying

between Dantzick and Königsberg. * The Haff was still frozen, but the ice in many places was so thin that the carriage wheels frequently cut it through and made the water spurt out. He was likewise unprovided with a guide, nor did he meet any person who was able to point out the way. He himself therefore walked before the horses with an axe in his hand to try the thickness of the ice, and in this manner, being scarcely aware of the progress he was making, he advanced, though in a straggling way; and after prodigious labour, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till the approach of night, he arrived at an inn called the Haff-krug, where he was agreeably surprised at being informed he had travelled more than seven German miles in the course of the day.

On the morrow he continued his route with his two deserters, whom he was under the necessity

* In imitation of the Great Elector, Frederick William, who when he was driving the Swedes out of Prussia transported his army, with his artillery, over the Frisch-Haff, in sledges.

cessity of watching very narrowly. The second part of the Haff was more difficult to pass than the first; but after having proceeded with the same caution, and undergone the same fatigues as before, Zieten arrived in the evening without any accident at Braunsberg where he passed the night. His landlord gave him many useful hints relative to the rest of his journey, and advised him to be particularly cautious in his passage over the Pregel in a certain spot where that river spreads itself into a kind of lake, and which is scarcely ever firmly frozen. Zieten thanked him for his information and began early in the morning to avail himself of it. He came within sight of Königsberg and thought he had already passed the dangerous part of the river. He was, however, soon convinced of his error. He had for some time followed, with equal pleasure and confidence, the track of a sledge containing two persons who seemed to be taking the same route. On a sudden the deserters gave a loud cry. Zieten asked the cause of this, but before they could make any answer his own eyes explained it. The sledge that preceded him sunk through the

the ice and disappeared in a moment. These unfortunate persons, as he afterwards learnt, were two young men belonging to a counting-house in Königsberg, who in this manner paid with their lives for an innocent party of pleasure which they had just been making to the other side of the river. Zieten learnt at their expence that he was nearer than he had imagined to the treacherous spot, and taking in due time another way, he arrived safely with his two recruits at Königsberg. At the inn where he lodged he met with a merchant from Breslau, who informed him that he had crossed the Haff the day before and that his sledge had sunk in, that his horses were drowned, and that he himself escaped with extreme difficulty. He added that two clergymen of Braunsberg, who had followed him at a small distance, and who had lighted their pipes from his but a few minutes before his disaster, not having come to his assistance though he had called to them nor overtook him afterwards, it was more than probable they had been swallowed up. This recital feelingly convinced Zieten what risks he himself had run, and increased

creased the satisfaction he felt at his own escape. To the gratitude which was due to his landlord of Braunsberg, he joined that which he owed divine providence, which had thus preserved him and irresistibly gained his fullest confidence. In his old age he could never speak of this perilous journey without feeling his confidence revive. He felt himself proud too of the courage he had manifested on the occasion; a courage which in his after life never failed him, whenever in the exercise of his hazardous profession he stood in need of it, and which rendered him always bold, often adventurous, but never rash.

Twelve months elapsed without involving him in the least embarrassment or disquietude. His zeal for the service increased with his military attainments, which being acquired in the double school of theory and practice were every day improving. His hours of relaxation were commonly taken up by the sports of the field, which had always been one of his most favourite diversions, and in two instances had nearly cost him his life. One day as he was tracing

tracing a hare over the snow, his horse foundered in a hollow way and he himself pitched upon his head. The horse rolled over him and he lay in a state of insensibility till a humane peasant coming to his assistance, drew him out of the snow and remained with him till he recovered his senses. Another time, when he was pursuing the game on foot, he inadvertently rushed into a wood in which a great number of cattle which had died of a contagious distemper were lying in the highest state of putrefaction. The mephitic exhalations arising from these carcasses had such an effect upon him, that he began to feel his strength fail him. With the greatest difficulty he staggered to the high road, where being quite unable to proceed any farther, he fell into a swoon, but was soon enabled by timely assistance to recover himself. Had he fainted in the wood his death had been inevitable.

The genius of Zieten, his frank and noble deportment, did not long remain unobserved by his brother-officers, nor fail to gain the esteem and friendship of all of them, except one

one who hated him and took every opportunity of doing him an ill turn. This person was the second capitain of the colonel-squadron, to which Zieten belonged. Being probably conscious that he was eclipsed by the merit of his lieutenant, he had long wished to get rid of him and had tormented him in every possible manner during a period of two years. Zieten bore all this with a degree of moderation which could hardly be expected from the natural warmth of his temper and the deep impression which every act of injustice made upon him even when he himself was not the object of it. At length it became impossible to continue to act this painful part, notwithstanding all the empire he had acquired over himself since the broils in which he had been engaged during his service in the infantry, and he could no longer tolerate these insults. The mutual fire of the animosity of the two champions, which lay smothered under its ashes, waited only for an occasion to burst into a flame, and this occasion was now near at hand.

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The squadron one sunday morning had assembled as usual to appear at church in form, and only waited the arrival of the captain. The latter who was paying his court to a lady of the place forgot the parade and his duty. The moments stole away, and it was difficult to know how to act. The officers murmured, and the more so as the cause of the captain's delay was no mystery to them. At length they lost all patience and after having waited much later than the usual hour, Zieten, at the solicitation of his friends and in his capacity of lieutenant, ordered the troops to march. The captain having been apprized of this, instantly joined them, and not satisfied with making the lieutenant a severe reprimand on the plea of breach of service, seemed happy to have this opportunity of giving full scope to his rancour towards him. During the whole march to the church he continued muttering terms of abuse. Zieten being under arms refrained from making any direct reply; he, however, could not help lifting up his shoulders and shewing every mark of disgust and contempt for an officer, whose duty it was to examine

amine into his conduct and punish it if reprehensible, but not to have recourse to ungentleman-like expressions and indecent menaces. The captain perceived this, and his rage was redoubled. "No more of these blackguard ges-„ticulations if you please, lieutenant," cried he; and as if he foresaw the immediate consequence of this, he instantly alighted and rushed into the church to which he was close, and which he had never been accustomed to enter. Upon this Zieten lost all command of himself; he went into an inn opposite the church to wait for his enemy and to make sure of him as he passed by. As soon as he saw him come ont of his retreat, he accosted him and demanded satisfaction for the word blackguard as well for the many other offensive expressions he had uttered. The captain was averse to any explanation, and declining the challenge in the best manner he could, endeavoured to turn off the whole business as a jest. This affected indifference irritated Zieten beyond measure. He pressed him closer and insisted upon fighting him on the spot. His antagonist immediately took refuge in the general's

quarters

quarters and made formal complaint against his lieutenant. The general ordered Zieten to be put under arrest, who now began to find he was entangled in a very disagreeable affair.

The captain, who had the ear of the general, abused his confidence as may be naturally supposed in order to place the whole transaction in the most advantageous view, and to screen himself from every suspicion of cowardise. The lady too with whom he was captivated was extremely useful to him in this business. The influence she had over the mind of her own husband as well as of the general, enabled her to assert the innocence of her lover, and when the affair was canvassed every thing was exhibited in a false light and discussed in favour of the captain and to the prejudice of Zieten. A report was made to the king, and the monarch, to whom the conduct of Zieten had been represented in the blackest colours, ordered a court-martial to be held at Berlin, which instantly acquitted the captain and condemned Zieten to one year's imprisonment in the fortress of Friedrichsbourg near Königs-

Königsberg. He was sent thither pursuant to his sentence towards the end of the year 1728.

The vexation he felt during his imprisonment was embittered by an incident which shewed to what degree the king believed him to be guilty. A dispute with the house of Hanover had made it necessary to give orders to certain regiments to hold themselves in readiness to march. That in which Zieten served being of this number, the prisoner was enlarged six weeks before the expiration of his time for the purpose of preparing his camp-equipage; but he immediately received a counter order on the part of the king to return to the fortress and remain there the full time for which he had been sentenced. He was therefore obliged to take this disagreeable journey for the second time, impressed with the fullest conviction that the monarch's displeasure was not at all abated.

The severity with which he had been treated was a matter of great triumph for his enemy, who now flattered himself it would be an

easy

easy task, on his return to the regiment, to browbeat and oppress him. He had not, however, anticipated the hatred and contempt with which he himself was considered by the worthy part of his brother-officers. They had discovered the base expedients he had recourse to, and in spite of the support on which he plumed himself, they created him so many vexations that his situation in the regiment became extremely critical. His conduct towards Zieten was judged to be mean, his courage equivocal and his motives dishonourable. All he had now to do was to strike some blow in order to extricate himself from these embarrassments; — to such measure he had recourse, but in his own way and perfectly consistent with the principles by which he was governed.

For this purpose he applied to an old ci-devant Austrian captain of the name of Soldan, who strolled from one garrison to another, and lived upon the quarrels of honour which he himself stirred up among the officers, and afterwards fomented in the capacity of second, and

and which he knew how to appease adroitly when the business came to be decided on the field of battle. The Prussian captain concerted with him on the means of regaining the esteem of the regiment without exposing his person to danger. Soldan in consequence of this took care to be at Friedrichsbourg a short time before Zieten left the place, and summoned him on the part of the captain to fight a duel before he joined his regiment, as the honour of both of them was equally at stake. Zieten impatient as he had formerly been to attack his adversary, had too well learnt to know and despise him, not to dismiss his emisary with the following short reply: "I have no desire "to lodge here a second time." The captain was, however, no way remiss in his preparations against the time in which Zieten was expected and had every thing in readiness for a regular duel. He sent his valuables out of the country, took a troop of chasseurs, grooms and lackeys into his immediate service, furnished them with fire-arms, and thus escorted, he sallied forth to meet Zieten, who had not the least intimation of what had taken place.

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This extraordinary equipment made no small noise. Some foresaw that the catastrophe would turn out ridiculous; others trembled for the life of Zieten, who immediately on his enlargement repaired to an inn in Königsberg in order to pass the night previously to his setting off to his garrison the next morning. The landlord received him with an embarrassed countenance, and requested him to choose for the present evening another lodging; informing him at the same time that his antagonist had engaged several rooms in the house for himself and a numerous company, and that it would be very dangerous to receive both parties under his roof. Zieten smiled at his alarms and protested he would not change his inn, as he was neither afraid of the captain nor of any man living. Upon this he took quiet possession of his chamber, and so far was he from meeting with any disturbance, that the captain, who arrived at Königsberg about an hour after him, did not think proper to alight at the inn, but went to lodge at another house. The road from the above city to the garrison threatening much danger to Zieten, his friends earnestly advised

him to take a by-way thither: "Your enemy," said they, is treacherous and well escorted; "you have nothing but courage to oppose to "this, and you are alone." These considerations, however, had so little effect upon *him* that notwithstanding he was aware his antagonist had not made all these preparations in vain, but would probably attempt something desperate, he took no other precaution than that of providing himself with a brace of pistols and equipping a youth of fourteen years of age, who accompanied him, with an old sabre; asking him at the same time whether he had bravery enough to make use of it in case they were attacked by the whole troop; "for," added he, "should one or two only make up to us, you "need not take the trouble of assisting me." The boy promised to combat stoutly, and our two champions sallied forth at break of day.

Zieten learnt at the gate of the city, that the captain and his escort had passed through half an hour before and had taken the road he was going. He expected to find him in every village he passed, but his expectations

were fruitless. Whatever place he came to, he was sure to learn that the other had proceeded forwards without having made any stay. On his arrival at each inn it was in vain that he laid his pistols on the table before him; his antagonist had never thought fit to give him an opportunity of using them. Seized with a panic, he made the best of his way with his troop to the garrison, where, however incredible it may appear, he received Zieten in the most amicable manner when they met by accident at the colonel's quarters. The laurels he had gathered in his late expedition were not splendid enough to allow him to make his boast of them. On the contrary, he pretended to be delighted at the return of the man whom he just before imagined he should have intimidated and subdued. How much ought he rather to have blushed at the sight of one so superior to him in courage and nobleness of mind!

His late proceedings, however, did not long remain a secret, and he began to find himself treated with still more neglect and contempt than

than before. His company was shunned, his brother-officers were ashamed to speak to him, and notwithstanding the countenance of the king and of his general and colonel, they gave him to understand they could no longer serve in the same regiment with him. To these measures Zieten alone, though the injured party, was an honourable exception. He gave him no disturbance whatever, and performed his military service under his command with the most rigid exactness. The more the other officers admired this conduct and respected the motives of it, the more they made the captain feel the effects of their hatred. Happy would he have been to recover his former credit; — it was now too late, he had lost the moment in which he might have done it in a proper manner. He could now only have recourse to base and contemptible expedients: He even went so far as to determine to rid himself by assassination of a man whose presence now furnished him with a continual subject of self-reproach. He often laid wait for him in the street during night, and one evening in particular he certainly would have

killed him had not Zieten turned about in time, and by the manliness of his looks and demeanour overawed his assassin, and palsied his arm which was already lifted up to strike the blow.

May the young and boisterous who are engaged in the military life learn from Zieten, on the present occasion, how to model their own conduct! Let a man without education or culture be their pattern, when they are told, that the manner in which he corrected the assassin was by burying the act in silent oblivion!

This generous silence, however, was unable to still the public voice which nevertheless continued to run violently against him, and rendered him the object of universal indignation. His protectress even blushed to take his part. She had unavailingly exhausted every means of saving his reputation, or at least of casting a veil over his dishonour; and she would no longer share his disgrace, and even seemed determined to reject his amorous assi-

assiduities. Enraged at this reverse of fortune he made choice of the lady's birth-day to try a last and desperate expedient. Inflamed with love and wine, and tremblingly anticipating the fate that awaited him, if he did not wash away in the blood of his enemy the dishonour with which his reputation was soiled, he called forth the wrecks of his courage, attacked Zieten in the open street in the day time as he was coming out of a house, and involved him in a singular combat, which produced effects that gave birth to one of the most remarkable vicissitudes of his life.

Every advantage was on the side of the assailant. Zieten had scarcely time to draw his sword and stand upon his defence. A new disaster likewise befel him; his sword shivered in pieces while he was parrying a stroke which threatened to cleave his skull. The captain, as the reader may easily believe, would have been base enough to take advantage of this accident in order to terminate the quarrel, and Zieten would inevitably have been lost, if he had not had the presence of mind

mind to throw the hilt of his sword in his antagonist's face, who immediately staggered and fell upon the pavement. Zieten in the mean while laid hold of a new kind of weapon which was fortunately near at hand. This weapon was a large lever belonging to some brewing utensils which was reared against a pump. The young warrior, like another Hercules, brandishes his club; his adversary, who was now upon his legs again, waves aloft his sabre; the unequal conflict is renewed and address contends with superior force. A third person arrived; it was an officer and Zieten begged the use of his sword. The officer refuses his request, and rushing between the combatants protects the weaker of the two. The officer on guard appears, and having separated them, put them both under arrest.

This was what the captain desired. Fortune had been very favourable to him, and he imagined he had done wonders in having combated with a disarmed foe. He trusted he had given such proofs of courage as were sufficient

ficient to re-establish his reputation in the regiment, and he flattered himself besides that this second affray would completely blacken the lieutenant in the eyes of the king and hasten his final ruin.

This public atchievement re-instated the captain in the good graces of the lady, who soon gained over the general and the next in command. In the inquiries which were made into this business the same steps were taken as in the former case; the facts were overcharged and the truth wholly disfigured. The report was sent to Berlin and the king was again imposed upon by false and partial representations.

Zieten was aware of the fate that awaited him. He saw himself in the power of his enemies and that what he had done in the defence of his own life was considered as a crime and was sufficient to ruin him. He could not disguise his just indignation, and being confined in the same guard-house with his adversary during the whole process, due care

care was taken to prevent their being left alone together. Whenever the sentinels were relieved a subaltern officer was stationed in the room to keep them in order.

Zieten, however, was not the more unhappy of the two. He derived no small consolation from the kind solicitude of his comrades who regularly visited him and exerted every means in their power to divert him and to render his confinement tolerable. The officer on guard dined with him, while the captain who sat in a corner of the room was never honoured with the least attention. A single officer, indeed, acted a different part; he declared himself the confident and partisan of the captain and the lady, and in concert with her and her complaisant husband, at the expence of every honourable feeling, he espoused the cause of their common friend, and his labours were crowned with success.

Six weeks elapsed, and the sentence of the court-martial arrived from Berlin and surprised every one who heard it. The captain was condemned to suffer three month's imprisonment

ment for drawing the first, and Zieten was broke for having thrown the hilt of his sword in the captain's face. This incident, which in fact was nothing more than a justifiable defence against an apparent attempt to assassinate him, became a pretext for loading the innocent with the chastisement of the guilty. The severe and unjust sentence ought not, however, to be attributed to the king, as his majesty had been taken by surprise and acted under the strongest prejudices in disfavour of Zieten. The prince, in fact, imagined he was doing an act of justice and rendering a service to the regiment in thus ridding it of an officer who had been represented to him as a hot-headed and dangerous man; and in this point of view it was that he confirmed the sentence in every particular.

Thus was the military career of Zieten terminated for a second time in a humiliating manner, and to all appearance irretrievably, while his dastardly adversary enjoyed the completest triumph. This triumph, however, was not of long duration; the tardy vengeance

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of fate at length overtook him, and we shall see him make his appearance again in the sequel in a very different point of view.

Zieten acquired new consideration and esteem by the manly dignity with which he supported his adverse fortune. He gave way to no murmurs, nor complaints, nor did he meditate any act of vengeance against the authors of his disgrace. He yielded to his fate and retired in a peaceable manner to Wustrau, where though to all appearance free and master of his actions, he could not help considering himself a captive, leading a life unenlivened by honour, profession and prospect: The vigour of his mind was cramped and his faculties were palsied. Had he possessed less delicacy and more levity of disposition, had he felt the glow of patriotism in a cooler degree or consulted either his resentment or his interest, he would have made a tender of his service to some foreign power. The idea, indeed, often came into his mind, yet he did what few would have done in his place, — he opposed his duty to the keenness of his feel-

feelings, and happily preserved himself for his country.

What might not in fact be expected from a man in whom the inclination and the power to act agreeably to such motives were united, and who subjecting the emotions of his wounded heart to the sacred laws of honour and those of his country, was determined to recognize no other? The efforts he made upon himself, the many conflicts he endured doubtless contributed to render him that great character he invariably approved himself to be during the rest of his life.

Supported by the consciousness of his own innocence and convinced of the injustice of fortune, Zieten passed several months at Wustrau in uninterrupted seclusion. This way of life at length grew intolerable, and he resolved to return to Berlin. Conscious that he was unable singly to push his fortune there, and that the king was too much exasperated against him to receive him again into his service without the mediation of powerful

ful friends, he overcame on the present occasion the aversion he had to all adventitious recommendation. His pride bent under the yoke of necessity and his ardour to serve his country at length subdued his repugnance to act the part of a suppliant. He accordingly paid his court to some of the generals who lived on familiar terms with the king, and particularly to marshal de Buddenbrock and general de Flanz, who having soon discovered his merit and considering him as the victim of envy and intrigue, promised him their good offices as soon as it would be at all prudent to exert them in his behalf, for at the present moment the very mention of his name would be sufficient to put his majesty into an ill humour.

The happy moment at last arrived. The king having paid a visit to his daughter, the margravine of Bayreuth, observed at that court a small corps of hussars, which particularly attracted his notice. This troop which was chiefly employed in escorting the margravian family in the excursions they made, had been

been sent in their best accoutrements to meet the king on his arrival on the frontiers. At the sight of a corps so splendidly equipped and so completely mounted, Frederick William was seized with the most violent inclination to have a similar one in his own service, to which he was desirous to assign a more military destination, and which he wished to form under his own immediate inspection. He had in the year 1722, created two companies of hussars in Prussia, and in the year 1730 his most favourite employment was the organization of a third at Berlin, composed of the finest men of the Bayreuth company which the margrave had now given him, together with some volunteers of the same country, the flower of the hussars of the two Prussian companies, and some young recruits enlisted in Hungary. Such was the origin of the regiment of Zieten, which afterwards became so celebrated on acconnt of their own bravery as well as that of their chief.

The king had named the captain and cornet of the new company; the lieutenant was not yet

yet appointed. His majesty commissioned general de Buddenbrock to look out for a man properly qualified for this kind of service. The general who knew and esteemed Zieten cast his eye upon him and proposed him to the king. He had foreseen the monarch's anger, and bore the first fury of it with patience. The king declared he would not hear Zieten any more spoken of; the general replied that he was a very worthy man and that he himself would be answerable for his conduct. At length general de Flanz added his solicitations in favour of the lieutenant, and the king struck with the good opinion his two favourites seemed to entertain of Zieten, yielded to their entreaties and expressed his desire to see him.

A courier was immediately sent to Wustrau with these good tidings. He received orders to repair to Königs-Wusterhausen, and there wait his majesty's pleasure, who was upon a hunting party in that place. He found the captain and cornet already arrived, and who were to be presented with him to the

the king. His majesty, who had been put into a very good humour by the diversion the chase had afforded him, received the two other officers in the most gracious manner; but with regard to Zieten, he upbraided him in the presence of his comrades with every fault that had been laid to his charge and of which he was fully persuaded he had been guilty. Zieten conscious of his own innocence observed nevertheless the most respectful silence. This was not the moment to enter upon his justification; he felt it, and the two generals, his patrons, were of the same opinion. A word might have impeded his fortune, and perhaps irretrievably. The king at length pleased with the submissive demeanour of Zieten began to soften the asperity of his language. A calm succeeded the storm, and Zieten was appointed lieutenant of the hussars, "on con-"dition, however, that he should behave "himself in an orderly manner, and that his "superior officer would keep a watchful eye "over him." *

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* The king's own expression.

This was no slight trial for the natural pride of Zieten's disposition; no small humiliation to him at his re-entrance into the military life. Yet the love he bore his country, and which had hitherto prevented his offering his services to any foreign power, again came to his aid and imposed silence upon him. During the rest of his life he was unable to recollect this interview without emotion; and even at the most advanced stage of it, he could never speak on the subject without betraying the deep impression it still made upon him.

Zieten was thirty-one years of age when he entered the hussars, and it was not long before he began to find himself involved in new disasters. Captain de Benekendorf, his superior officer, had not forgot the scene of Wusterhausen, nor the orders he had received from the king to superintend the conduct of his lieutenant. He exercised the task in a manner incompatible with the honour and feelings of Zieten, whose moderation and patience were often put to the severest test. By frequent struggles with himself, however, he

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at last prevailed, and learnt in this new school, that those persons whom fortune destines to the rank of favourites have many mortifications to undergo preparatory to the enjoyments which are one day to fall to their share.

He perceived likewise that the king, now no longer the slave to his prejudices, began to shew him frequent marks of kindness and even to honour him with his confidence. This was no small encouragement to Zieten while it exoited in Benekendorf both discontent and envy. The king's kindness seemed to increase daily, he treated him with distinction, loved to converse with him, and often charged him with his commissions, particularly with such as related to the dutchy of Mecklenburg. These circumstances gave umbrage to the captain, who now began to take every opportunity in his power to make him feel the effects of his ill humour. One day the king speaking with Zieten had desired him to procure a skilful farrier from some other country. The captain who was informed of this the same evening while he was at supper with a party

of his friends, sent to Zieten though very late in the night, and in a rude manner asked him what the king had said to him that morning, and why he had made no report of it. Zieten who on such occasions never carried his resentment farther than by eluding the indiscreet curiosity of his superior officer, replied coldly that the conversation had run upon indifferent affairs, and of which he did not at all conceive it his duty to make report. The captain irritated at this answer and intoxicated with liquor had recourse to rudeness and invective. He advanced towards Zieten with his fist clenched and his eyes sparkling with rage. Zieten on his part could scarcely contain himself, his hand began to close mechanically and he was on the point of giving full scope to his anger, when he recollected in time the paternal exhortations of the king, which had been just before reiterated, together with his majesty's declaration that his proneness to fall into variance was the only point on which he could now entertain the least distrust with regard to his conduct. This recollection snatched him from the impending

pending danger; he made a violent effort upon himself, and quitted the room in all the agony of stifled resentment.

Fortunately neither this nor any of the quarrels that took place between the captain and his lieutenant reached the royal ear; the military service was well executed and the company was in the most perfect order. After the first year of its formation his majesty created two new companies, and twelve months later he increased them to three squadrons, which he composed of the flower of the youth and of the choicest men of every other regiment. To this corps which he was pleased to notice in a very particular manner, he gave the name of body-hussars and incorporated them in the army under that denomination and with the rank to which they were entitled. These changes, as we have seen, succeeded each other in the space of two or three years. At the expiration of the first year Zieten had the good fortune to be appointed captain * and to command the se-

* His commission bears date the 1st of March, 1731.

cond company annexed to the corps of Benekendorf.

This rapid advancement affords a new proof of the estimation in which the king now held him. It was not, however, solely to his conduct and the punctuality with which he acquitted himself of every duty that he owed this mark of royal favour; it arose chiefly from the deep impression the military merits of Zieten had made upon the king. His majesty could perceive in him all those talents which seemed necessary to bring to perfection this militia which he himself had created and which was a new phenomenon in the Prussian army. Hence was the king induced some time after to intrust him with an expedition which he considered as a kind of touchstone for the corps, and which would display at once both their use and their peculiar advantage.

The king was not satisfied with having been in some sort the founder of the hussars, and employed during the latter part of his reign in organizing them; he was desirous, at the same

same time that he intended to increase their number, to raise them from the infant condition in which they yet lay, and to give them opportunities of emulating his grenadiers. For this purpose it was necessary to initiate them in the business of real service, and an occasion was soon at hand. France which had disputed the crown of Poland with Austria and Russia, had recently violated the neutrality of the empire and taken possession of the fortress of Kehl. Frederick William not content with merely furnishing his quota, put himself at the head of ten thousand men whom he led to the banks of the Rhine. A fit of the gout or perhaps the inactivity of prince Eugene who commanded the combined army, and who already began to feel the effects of age, soon induced his majesty to return to Berlin. During this excursion he became acquainted with a famous Austrian partisan of the name of Baronay, and imagined he had found in this officer a man in whose school he might safely intrust his hussars. After having procured the consent of prince Eugene to this measure he ordered sixty body-hussars (No. 2) with an equal

equal number of those of Prussia (No. 1) to join the Austrian army *, and gave the command of them to captain de Zieten whom he recommended in very strong terms to general de Baronay.

Zieten marched with his sixscore horse as soon as the season would permit, and having taken Potsdam in his way, the king gave him his last instructions there, and at the same time exhorted him to preserve the strictest order and discipline among the troops intrusted to his command. Zieten promised obedience to his majesty's injunctions, but before he had arrived at his destination he felt by sad experience that a man is not always master of his actions nor of their consequences, and that even without any fault on his own part, he may often risk the loss of reputation and burden his responsibility.

His march lay through the dutchy of Weimar. At Buttstädt, a small town belonging to

* In the spring of the year 1736.

to that principality, where he was to take up his quarters for the night, he found the duke, who at the head of a small camp, was waiting to meet him, and who honoured him with the most distinguished reception. The officers were invited to the camp and regaled at the ducal table. The hussars were treated with the most cordial hospitality by the inhabitants of Buttstädt, and their horses were fed at the expence of the duke. Plenty of provisions were displayed in the camp and in the town, and strong liquors, according to the custom of the times, were poured out in abundance. The hussars got drunk to the health of their hosts, and their commander made but slight resistance to the quick circulation of the glass at the prince's table, and drank to an improper degree.

Many ladies from the capital, among whom was the duke's mistress, came to visit the camp and to grace with their presence a ball which was given to crown the festivity of the day. This fair and amiable lady made a deep impression on Zieten's heart. Inflamed with

with intemperance and lost in a tumult of sensations, he forgot he had a rival entitled to his respect and whose jealousy kept pace with the increasing captivation of his guest. The scene might have grown serious had not Zieten, who was not much accustomed to drinking, sunk under the pressure of inebriation. He was taken from table, and the duke much delighted at this incident ordered him to be carried, in the state of insensibility in which he lay, to Buttstädt and locked up in his chamber.

The next morning Zieten with some difficulty broke loose from his confinement to assemble the troops and make ready for their departure. At length when he began to march at about noon he was surprised to receive a visit from the duke. The prince had entirely laid aside his jealous apprehensions, and was the first to laugh at the scene that had taken place the preceding day. He expressed at the same time his desire to see the hussars make an evolution, and requested Zieten to gratify him with the spectacle. The cap-

captain, who thought it incumbent on him to return the kindness he had received at the hands of the duke, instantly began to make the necessary dispositions and divided his men into several platoons, but his complaisance had liked to have been attended with fatal consequences.

The hussars were not yet become perfectly sober, and besides this a violent animosity prevailed in the detachment which was composed of Berliners and Prussians against the others, so that the sham combat became a real battle, and at the word given for firing the two parties loaded their pistols with balls. Zieten was alarmed beyond description when he perceived his troops were thus hastening to destroy each other before they arrived in the presence of the enemy, and though he took instant measures to quell the affray, yet there were many wounded on both sides. The duke, who was much concerned at this incident, furnished them with carriages for their transport. Fortunately not any of them died, and in a short time they were all cured

of

of the wounds they had received. Zieten was fearful lest the affair should reach the king's ear and involve him in new troubles; his majesty, however, happily remained in total ignorance of the transaction.

These late events proved a salutary lesson to Zieten and taught him to know both his troops and himself. From this time he assiduously endeavoured to suppress that spirit of rivalry which prevailed among them, and even during the rest of his march he began to find that his labour had not been ill bestowed. He likewise introduced severer modes of discipline and by such exertions was afterwards enabled to prevent their falling into new excesses. As for himself he resolved never to give way again to intemperance, and his future life shews that his resolution was not taken in vain.

On the 12th of May he arrived with the detachment at the Austrian camp and was quartered in the neighbourhood of Mentz. His zeal and activity in the performance of his duty,

duty, and the regularity of his conduct soon gained him the approbation of the principal officers and particularly that of M. de Baronay. That able general was not slow in discovering his merit, and he became in a short time so attached to him that he was fond of calling him his disciple and declared himself proud of being his instructor. He took care to have him continually at his side, made him a party in all his expeditions, and taught him the art of war in the field of battle. After having assisted in several skirmishes and being familiarized to desultory service, Zieten thought he might now venture to make trial of the strength and courage of his little squadron. He imparted his wish to the general who was delighted at his impatience to distinguish himself; he intrusted him with three hundred Austrian hussars to join the Prussians, and charged him with an enterprise of considerable importance. The object was to turn the enemy by passing through a defile, to flank them, to alarm their quarters, and to retreat before they could be able to collect their forces.

Zieten, to whom the general had left the task of making the necessary dispositions, conducted the enterprise with equal ability and prudence. He broke into the enemy's advanced quarters without being perceived, threw them into disorder, and made several prisoners. In the mean time the adjacent posts taking the alarm, united and marched against him. This was the moment for retreat, and the Austrians, who had been accustomed to this kind of war, fell back in due time. Zieten's hussars, however, conceiving a degree of infamy to be connected with the word, spurned at the mention of it and kept their ground. Their obstinacy had well nigh proved fatal to them; for while their commander was exhausting himself in exhorting them to consider their own safety, the enemy approached on all sides and had nearly cut off their retreat. It was now necessary to make way through them in order to regain the defile, which was the only road they could take to their own camp, and Zieten conducted them without any loss to the spot. The moment they arrived there general de Baronay unexpectedly

pectedly made his appearance among them. He had foreseen the danger of the undertaking and had lain in ambuscade at the head of twelve hundred horse in a neighbouring wood to be ready to support Zieten in case of need. He had seen the attack and retreat, and lay concealed till the moment in which he found it necessary to disencumber his pupil of the troops that were pursuing him, when falling in his turn upon the enemy he put them to flight, and after having taken several prisoners, he returned in triumph to the camp.

The proof which Zieten had just given of his talents gained him the applause of the general and a report in his favour to the king, who immediately advanced him to the rank of major. * In the warrant which was transmitted to him it was stated, "that his "majesty raised him to that rank in considera- "tion of his good qualities, the military expe- "rience he had acquired, and the vigilance and "courage he had manifested."

This

* January the 29th. 1736.

This was not, indeed, the only occasion in which Zieten distinguished himself during the course of his military excursion, but it is the only one of which we have been able to learn any particulars. The king having withdrawn his troops on the conclusion of the peace, Zieten quitted the imperial army with the reputation of a good officer, and favoured with every mark of friendship and esteem which general de Baronay could bestow upon him. At their separation neither of them could have entertained the least idea that in a few years they were to meet again as enemies.

This campaign proved of the greatest moment to Zieten; it procured him glory, experience and advancement. His garrison could not have afforded such advantages, and it was on the banks of the Rhine that his happier fate had destined him to serve his apprenticeship to the art of war. On his return to Berlin the king gave him the kindest reception, and expressed his satisfaction in the most flattering terms.

New

New disasters, however, were yet in store for him, and he began to experience them a short time after the late brilliant scenes in which he had been engaged. He was again entangled in military broils and had often occasion to regret the fortunate period of the year 1755.

During his late absence the king had been pleased to give M. de Benekendorf his dismission and to appoint lieutenant colonel de Wurm in his stead, an officer who had hitherto served in the infantry. His fine person probably recommended him to his majesty's favour, for in other respects he was totally devoid of merit. At his entrance into the university he had distinguished himself as a blustering youth, had killed four or five of his fellow-students in duels during the time he resided there, and owed his reputation for courage principally to the superiority of his bodily strength. Elated with self-love and pride he never condescended to acquire any knowledge. When he first entered the army his ignorance was remarkable, and when he removed

moved into the cavalry it appeared in still more glaring colours, as he was possessed with the silly vanity of believing himself an adept in every military accomplishment. Such was the principal officer whom Zieten found on his return, and whom his own superior merit soon made his enemy. M. de Wurm, who doubtless was no stranger to the story of his former adventures, was persuaded it would be easy to create him new mischiefs. He took every opportunity to provoke him to anger, and endeavoured to draw him into situations which might force him to demand satisfaction and thereby forfeit the good graces of the king. Zieten, however, who had learnt at his own cost to moderate his temper, still evaded the snares that were insidiously laid for him, and during a period of four years continued to act this painful part with unremitting patience. Curbing his frank and noble disposition and submitting to the yoke of subordination, he was always able to avoid coming to an open rupture with his persecutor. At one time redoubling his attention to his own conduct and laying a restraint upon his words

and

and actions he gave no kind of hold to his enemy; At another, by the calmness and gravity of his deportment he was always able to kept him in due respect.

Though under these circumstances Zieten could not be happy, yet his heart, accessible to sentiments of the most tender nature, suggested to him that he might be happy in other respects, and prompted him to think of marriage. His choice fell on Leopoldine Judith de Jurgas, of the house of Ganzer and of the family of his own mother. The choice met with universal approbation. Mad. de Zieten was alike distinguished for her beauty, good sense, her virtues, and her amiable and dignified demeanour. Although the fortune of this lady was small, and his plans of aggrandizing and embellishing his estate had not been laid aside, he solely consulted personal attachment in the choice he had made, undebased by the slightest consideration of interest.

The charms of domestic life continued for a while to temper the vexations with which the colonel strove to embitter it, yet, what was easy enough to foresee, at last took place. The unremitting malevolence of that officer at length tired out his major's patience, and they had recourse to the most violent measures. The distribution of a supply of horses was the immediate cause of their quarrel. The colonel had chosen the best for his own squadron although it was customary to draw lots for the more equal accommodation of the troops. The moment he was apprised of this innovation, Zieten conceived it to be his duty to expostulate with the colonel on the business. He took care to wait on him before the parade began, and stating the inconveniency that would attend this new manner of selection, earnestly intreated him to suffer things to remain on their old footing. The despotic officer felt himself offended at this advice, fell into a passion, and grew rude. Zieten, who when the interests of the service were at stake was utterly incapable of giving way, answered him in the like tone. The dispute be-

became serious, they fastened the door and drew upon each other. Their rancour which had been so long stifled and concentrated broke out with mutual violence, and they fought with equal fury. The colonel, however, had soon reason to be astonished at finding in Zieten an adversary who seemed to be a match for him, and over whom he was not likely to gain the least advantage. Notwithstanding the low stature and apparent weakness of the major, he stoutly sustained the assault of his colossal foe. They were both wounded; the colonel in the head, and Zieten in the right hand *. M. de Wurm now suddenly broke off the combat with a view of carrying it on in another manner. He laid hold of his pistols and presented one of them to Zieten, who more wise and moderate than he, replied, "We have both of us lost "blood considerably, let us in the first place "have our wounds dressed, and dispatch the "business of the parade which waits for us.

* * "When

* His middle finger remained ever after contracted.

"When we are cured I shall expect to hear "from you, and I shall leave to yourself the "choice of weapons." These words which were uttered in a cool and resolute manner had their proper effect. The colonel grew calm and a surgeon was immediately sent for. The guard was duly mounted, and the horses distributed by lot. The grudge, however, still rankled in the colonel's heart and only wanted a favourable occasion to break into explosion. An occasion soon happened, as we shall see in the sequel, and which made him pay dearly for his eagerness to take advantage of it.

The king being at this period extremely ill, it is probable he never heard of the affair; but had it reached his ear, his opinion had been too much altered respecting Zieten, whom he loved and esteemed, and considered as a very accomplished officer, to have allowed him to judge with his former severity. His majesty, moreover, had lately shewn the great confidence he had in him by having sent him to Vienna on a secret business. The exact time and object of this mission cannot be ascertained,

certained, and all that ever transpired on the part of Zieten was, that he was treated with much distinction at the imperial court. *

The king died in the year 1740. In him Zieten lost a prince whom he loved as the author of his fortune, and whom he respected as the founder of the Prussian army, who from a rigorous judge had become a zealous patron, and whose severities had been transformed into benefactions and favours. Whenever he spoke of this monarch, it was always with impressions of admiration and gratitude, and with the flattering consciousness of having overcome his prejudices by mere dint of merit.

On the accession of Frederick II. all the splendid prospects of Zieten seemed on the point of vanishing away or at least of becoming extremely precarious. On ascending the throne this prince set about realizing the plans

* The reigning emperor was Charles VI.

plans which his genius had conceived in the silence of retreat. His system of governement was already arranged and the instruments which were to assist him in carrying it on were already chosen. Zieten, who had always kept aloof and considered every kind of eagerness which bore any resemblance to flattery as beneath himself and incompatible with real desert, had not attracted the notice of that monarch. He was lost in the crowd; but while Frederick on his part was far from foreseeing that their names should one day be blended together in the annals of history and their glory reflect mutual splendor on each other, Zieten waited patiently for the moment in which his sovereign should mark him out and place him in his true sphere of action. The event has fulfilled his expectations and justified the confidence he had both in his own worth and the penetration of the monarch.

The beginning of the reign of Frederick II. was the epoch of the German war. On the decease of Charles VI. the last of the male line of the house of Austria, several powers made

made pretentions to a great part of his dominions. The commotion soon became universal and a general war appeared to be inevitable. The king of Prussia took advantage of the present juncture of affairs to make good the former rights his family had to a considerable portion of Silesia. The way of negotiation he considered as too tedious a measure, and while he published his manifestoes his troops took possession of the dutchy towards the end of the year 1740. The three squadrons of body-hussars under the command of colonel de Wurm accompanied the army, and the Prussian hussars still remained in their quarters.

Such was the first appearance of Zieten on this theatre of war, in which the Prussian army was destined to signalize itself both offensively and defensively, and under the banners of Frederick to merit the admiration of the universe, to raise its chief to the rank of the most powerful monarchs, and sustain his throne in the midst of the assaults of the combined force of Europe.

On

On this theatre it was Zieten's fate to gather a part of his laurels and to lay the foundation of his future glory.

This war, so important as to its consequences, was simple in its principle, while the world was far from foreseeing the events with which is was pregnant. The king marched into the heart of Silesia without noise and almost without resistance, took possession of its fairest provinces and completed the first half of the enterprize before the report of his having undertaken it had gained full credit at Vienna.

This happy opening of the first campaign afforded the highest encouragement to an army which its chief had destined to perilous warfare, inured to fatigue, and prepared to dispute one day under his command every inch of the territory they had conquered together.

If the occupation of Silesia afforded the hussars but slender occasions of distinguishing them-

themselves it arose merely from their being as yet considered as in a state of infancy. Zieten was at their head, but the reputation he had acquired on the banks of the Rhine had been so far forgotten that during the course of the first campaign and as late as the middle of the second, he had never appeared on the scene with any degree of eclat. The provinces, the towns, the fortresses were conquered and occupied without the assistance of the hussars. They were peaceably cantoned in the villages and passed a considerable time before they came in sight of an enemy.

The application and utility of the light troops had been hitherto but little known and understood in the Prussian service, and hence the real cause of the inaction to which the hussars were condemned. M. de Wurm, moreover, who commanded them was but ill calculated to draw the attention of the army in general and acquire his troops the esteem to which they were entitled, and Zieten, circumstanced as he was with regard to that officer, was obliged to be satisfied with seeing, observ-

observing, and studying in silence, without venturing to hazard any attempts which might awaken his illiberal jealousy.

The apprenticeship which Frederick himself made in the business of war in this first campaign was connected with too many objects of higher importance to allow him to enter into every detail at once. He was rather inclined not to employ his hussars at all than expose them to be ill employed, and in this respect he approved himself to be more wise and humane than one of his oldest generals, who at this period thought proper to employ a party of them in such a manner as to render it doubtful whether he considered them as men or as a mere herd of cattle led to the slaughter-house.

This general was posted near Frankenstein in Silesia with a division of the army and the hussars. Having received intelligence that a body of Austrian cavalry was advancing upon him, he was desirous to reconnoitre them in person, and taking twenty-four horse from col-

colonel de Wurm he set off for that purpose, when seeing the regiment of Lichtenstein drawn out, he halted and commanded lieutenant de Müllwitz, who led on the hussars, to make a charge. The lieutenant despairing of success on account of the inequality of numbers ventured to make some representations to him; when being harshly asked by the general if he wanted courage, he ceased his expostulations, and turning to the hussars cried out, "Come, fellow-soldiers, follow me." The little troop rushed forwards and fell upon the enemy, who on seeing them approach received them with loud fits of laughter, and asked them if they were out of their senses. But when they saw this handful of men make ready to charge, they found it necessary to bring out a whole squadron to receive them. At the first shock the lieutenant and one hussar were killed, and the others overwhelmed or dispersed in an instant.

The reader may judge what impression this unhappy experiment of the efficacy hastily ascribed to these kind of troops made upon the whole

whole body. Every officer felt himself offended in the person of the lieutenant, every hussar in that of his slain comrade; and Zieten, who felt this affront deeper than any one, secretly regretted that, with the hussars at their head, the Prussian army at that period could not produce a general like M. de Baronay. Though he had no resource but in patience, he did not, however, lose his time, but still endeavoured to turn it to account in observing the movements and exploits of the rest of the army.

At the close of the campaign the king saw himself master of Silesia, and considering it as an old province he took up his winter quarters there. The hussars were cantoned along the frontiers of Hungary.

The king, who during the winter had leisure to consider the great advantages that might be derived from the agency of these light troops, formed a body of regulations for them, and communicated it to their principal officers. Although these regulations were yet very de-

defective and, as it were, the mere elements of the service, they, however, afforded Zieten the first splendid occasion he had of approving himself the worthy pupil of general de Baronay and of turning his own exploits to due advantage.

At the opening of the second campaign * he received orders to break up his winter quarters and join the king's army which was embodying at Michelau upon the Neisse. The troops under the command of Wurm had been reinforced by three squadrons of Prussian hussars **, and though these two corps were not immediately blended into one regiment and put under the command of the same principal officer, their uniform was nearly alike, and they acted at one time in concert, at another separately, according to circumstances. The one was called the Life-guard or Berlin hussars, and the other the Prussian. The latter were com-

* In April, 1741.

** Brunikowsky's, No. 2.

commanded by Major de Soldan, the officer who had formerly carried a challenge to Zieten on the part of his captain. It is very probable that the king by not making either of these corps subordinate to the other was desirous of calling forth their emulation as well as that of their officers, in order to discover which should the more distinguish itself and prove of the greater service to the army.

On the 8th of April the king began his march and passed the Neisse at Michelau. The hussars, who had now for the first time the honour of composing the van, surprised a party of the enemy's hussars who far from expecting the attack as a deep snow had fallen during the night, had not even time to mount their horses and form themselves into order of battle. They lost forty men, and these were the first prisoners the Prussian hussars had ever taken. The rest saved themselves by flight, and the bad roads secured them from the pursuit of the conquerors. The king having proceeded at far as Mollwitz gave battle to marshal de Neuperg on the

10th

10th of April and gained a complete victory over him. In this action the hussars had no part; they were placed on the left wing of the second line to guard the baggage and had received orders to remain inactive at their post while the second line was engaged in supporting the first. Zieten a mere spectator of the battle was taken up in admiring the bravery of the Prussian infantry triumphing over every obstacle, or in keeping in awe the parties of the enemy which might endanger the safety of the baggage; and being well aware that occasions of contemplating the shock of armies without bearing an active part would not often happen, he employed these important moments in observing the errors that were committed and in storing up the lessons they furnished him.

After the victory of Mollwitz and the reduction of Brieg, the king remained encamped at Strehlen from the 4th of May to the end of August. Having been convinced on the day of the 10th of April of the indispensible necessity of good cavalry he had already begun

gun to exercise his own in patrols and rencounters, and had drawn two new regiments from Prussia which had been formed after that of Brunikowsky. To these he added the three Berlin squadrons, and employed them conjointly with the heavy horse in the execution of frequent manœuvres. This new arrangement proved of great utility to the service, and at length gave Zieten an opportunity of quitting a state of inaction so painful to an officer of his turn of mind, subjected by hazard to the control of an ignorant and jealous commander who was both unable and unwilling to lead the hussars into any enterprize of moment and give them an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. M. de Wurm, in fact, was so bad an officer and so imperfect was the discipline that prevailed in his own squadron, that at the battle of Mollwitz his hussars had plundered the baggage they had under their guard without his being able to check their disorderly conduct. But what chiefly tended to the loss of his reputation was want of courage in war (though the reader has seen he was troublesomely bold in peace) and

and his continual assiduity to avoid coming to action; — a conduct that repressed the ardour of his officers and kept his troops in a state of involuntary inaction.

It is not easy to imagine to what degree he lost all command of himself whenever he was employed in the execution of any military operation. One day when the king had charged him with an expedition he began his march and led his troops during the whole night without having made a single disposition or informed the principal officers of the squadrons of the route they had to take, so that they continued to wander at random and in the dark without knowing whither they were going. Suddenly a noise was heard behind the squadron of Zieten, who was bringing up the rear. Imagining it naturally to be the approach of the enemy he halted, faced about, and prepared for battle, when the discovery of a singular mistake of the colonel, who had marched his troops into a circle which occasioned the van to fall close upon the rear, surprised and shamed the whole

corps. Instead of endeavouring to repair this false step by attempting some splendid action, be led back to the camp his brave hussars, who had eagerly expected an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in this expedition, yet only acquired from it new proofs of the incapacity of their commander.

No one was more irritated at this than Zieten, for no one was more capable of judging of it; yet still master of his temper, though more alive to affronts which he shared in common with the service than to such as were personal, his principles had triumphed over his resentment as long as the colonel acted merely a dastardly part; but finding, in an instance we are going to relate, that he added treachery to cowardise, and that himself and his squadron were on the point of becoming the victims of his perfidious machinations, he lost all patience and fell into in new broils with him more violent than the former.

At the beginning of June M. de Wurm was ordered by the king to observe the position of

of the enemy. On his way he met a patrol of some hundred hussars whom he attacked and dispersed. Having pursued them to the entrance of a defile, and perceiving that they halted and faced about, he halted likewise and permitted their flankers to harrass him considerably. Zieten equally enraged at the sudden inactivity of his commander and at the audacity of the Austrians, was no longer able to contain himself. He pushed forward and cried out: "Colonel, will you not put these "fellows to flight?" — "Why dont you do it yourself, since you are so bold? are you not at the head of your squadron?" — "With all "my heart," said Zieten, "provided you'll sup-"port me." At the same moment he gave the word to march, and falling on the enemy he drove them into the defile and pursued them far beyond it, fully persuaded that the colonel had kept the position in which he had left him. He took complete advantage of the skirmish, made several prisoners, and convinced the Austrians that the Prussian hussars were not to be played with. At length perceiving reinforcements pouring in on every

side, he began to think of making a retreat, and conceived he had nothing to risk as he depended on finding the colonel at the entrance of the defile. That officer, however, was no longer there; he had insiduously retired to a neighbouring village without feeling the least concern for Zieten or the squadron under his command. The latter now aware of his commander's perfidy and his own danger, was indebted for his safely merely to his presence of mind and intrepidity of conduct. He called back his flankers, closed the ranks, and while a part of his troops passed the defile he charged the enemy, who had not yet collected their forces, at the head of the rest, and gained sufficient time and ground to make good his retreat. It is likewise worthy of remark, that he did not lose a single man, and carried away every one of the prisoners he had taken.

As soon as he had gained the village whither his colonel had withdrawn he demanded satisfaction for his cowardly desertion and for the danger to which he had wilfully exposed him.

him. M. de Wurm, confounded and ashamed, or rather exasperated at seeing Zieten escaped from danger and crowned with success, made no reply, but drawing his sword, fell furiously upon him. Zieten likewise drew, and in the scuffle wounded his antagonist slightly on the head. An aid de camp interfered and separated them. This affray made much noise in the army, and an engraving has handed down its memory to the present time.

The colonel, whose wound, or rather whose anger and shame confined to his tent, was unable to attend the head-quarters to receive the parole of the day, and Zieten, as next in command, appeared in his stead. He was about to make report of the late expedition, when the king the moment he perceived him, cried out, "Where is Wurm?" — He is indisposed, "sire," — "Mak your report then," added the king. Zieten obeyed and his majesty was well satisfied.

During the pretended indisposition of the colonel, Zieten was charged with the command of the hussars and received orders to repair with

with the whole corps to head-quarters on the business of an expedition then in agitation. * Here Frederick reviewed one squadron after another, and found both men and horses in excellent order; and in testimony of his regard for Zieten forthwith named him lieutenant-colonel. It is impossible that the king had not heard of what had lately passed, and more than probable that he was induced in consequence to recompense in this manner the bravery of an officer whose conduct he had secretly been pleased with, though he was obliged to refrain from all public testimony of approbation. The commission with which his majesty charged him was the recovery of a transport of provisions and money lately fallen into hands of the enemy, and the newly-appointed lieutenant-colonel acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his sovereign.

Some days after this ** the king determined upon dislodging the enemy from the post of Roth-

* Between the 12th and 14th of July.

** The 22nd of July.

Rothschloss from whence they had made frequent excursions and laid the country under contribution. He intrusted the enterprize to colonel de Winterfeld, his adjutant-general, who put himself at the head of some battalions of grenadiers and the hussars of Wurm and Prussia under the command of Zieten. The enemy was strong and their position almost impregnable. Before them they had a deep and extensive marsh crossed by a long and narrow causeway that lay in the face of a battery. Zieten began the onset, advanced at full speed along the causeway, and under a quick fire forced the passage, threw the enemy, who little expected to be attacked in front, into disorder, repulsed them after a vigorous resistance and drove them close to a mill, along the side of a rapid stream, the bridge of which had been broken down. All retreat was thus cut off from the Austrians while colonel de Winterfeld was still engaging the infantry, and Zieten made a whole regiment of cavalry prisoner. But how great was his surprise as well as his triumph when he discovered he had been coping with the cele-

celebrated general de Baronay, his former preceptor in the art of war! The scholar not only surpassed the master but had likewise taken him prisoner had he not crossed the stream by the timely assistance of a plank and immediately betaken himself to flight. The general the next day carried his justice and generosity so far as to write the most obliging letter to his conqueror, in which he confessed himself vanquished, and observed that the master was but too happy in having been able to escape at all from so formidable a scholar.

Colonel de Winterfeld, in a report he made of this brilliant expedition to the king, did proper justice to Zieten and his troops. This first exploit of the hussars made an universal sensation in the camp, and the king not satisfied with testifying his approbation of Zieten in the most flattering terms, appointed him to the rank of colonel.

Too little of a patriot to exult in the glory of another, M. de Wurm was the only person who

who did not share the common effusion of joy which prevailed upon this occasion. Tormented with envy he resumed his command the day after the affair of Rothschloss, and was resolved at all events to distinguish himself. On the following day an occasion was offered, and he availed himself of it; but so incapable was he of turning it to any advantage, that had it not been for the timely support of Zieten, he and all his men would have fallen victims to his ignorance and cowardise. The latter fell upon the enemy in their rear, released the prisoners, took several himself, and after having re-established a desperate affair, at last terminated it gloriously.

The king was pleased to dismiss colonel de Wurm from his service and to grant him a small pension, and afterwards to place him in a battalion of garrisoned invalids; and in order to recompense Zieten for having saved the hussars, he named him their chief officer, after having united the six squadrons of Berlin and Prussia into one sole regiment. About this time Zieten was likewise decorated with the

the order of military merit, though it is not known on what particular occasion it was conferred. All these events took place in the month of July, and a few days after the battle of Rothschloss.

So rapid an advancement was an extraordinary phenomenon in the Prussian army. In the course of one month Zieten was raised from the rank of major to that of colonel and head of a regiment created in his favour. Independently of the personal merit which acquired him these distinctions, they are likewise to be attributed to the high idea his successful expeditions had just given his majesty of the importance of the hussars and of their great utility in seconding the operations of the troops of the line. This is sufficiently illustrated by two original instruments, namely the colonel's commission sent to Zieten and the articles of stipulation relative to the new regiment. The preamble of the former is couched in these terms. *

"Hav-

* Bearing date the 22nd of July, 1741.

"Having had occasion to be convinced from "our own observation of the assiduity and ta- "lents which our major, John Joachim de Zie- "ten, has hitherto exerted in our service, we "afford him a proof of our particular sa- "tisfaction and royal favour in naming him "colonel, etc.?"

In the second instrument, among other particulars, we find the following.

"Having thought proper to make an altera- "tion in our Life-guard-hussars and to dismiss "colonel de Wurm from the command of the "same, we have taken the faithful services "which our major, John Joachim de Zieten, has "hitherto rendered us into consideration, and "in order to recompense the said worthy offi- "cer, who on many occasions has given splen- "did proofs of conduct and intrepidity, we "name him our colonel, and confer upon him "the new regiment which we have formed of "three squadrons of Life-guard-hussars and of "three other squadrons, etc."

The

The circumstance of Zieten's being styled major in these two commissions has occasioned it to be generally believed that without being appointed to the intermediate rank of lieutenant-colonel he was instantly raised to that of colonel. In a letter from the king, however, his majesty calls him "My dear lieutenant-colonel de Zieten;" the omission must therefore be ascribed to an error in the war-office, whose dispatches frequently betoken the hurry and confusion of the times. Another letter to Zieten proves the above in a more detailed manner. A camp of observation being formed at Brandenburg some time after this period under the command of the prince of Anhalt, an acquaintance of Zieten's * wrote him word that having been to visit it, the prince had remarked him in the crowd, and asked him if he knew of his friend's being appointed colonel; when having replied that the gazette mentioned his advancement to the rank of lieutenant-colonel only, the prince had added

* M. Gerlach, postmaster at Belitz.

added, "He held that commission but two "days. Wurm is dismissed and Zieten com- "mands in his stead."

We are now come to the period in which Zieten was enabled to make a full display of his talents and love of glory. The corps into which, eleven years before, he had obtained admission in quality of lieutenant as by favour, now saw him at their head, and were themselves rapidly advancing to the era of their most brilliant career. The name of Zieten and that of the hussars now began to be mentioned with respect throughout the whole army. The enemy though long familiarized to this kind of soldiery observed its formation in the Prussian service with alarm, and foreboded how fatal it would one day prove to them. Zieten had the merit of being the father of all the heroes who succeeded him in this line of duty, as his regiment had that of being the model of all that were formed after him. And if Frederick the Great in his posthumous works has not nominally done justice to his general, he speaks with elogium of the servi-

ces

ces the hussars had rendered him in the various desultory war in which they were employed, and makes particular mention of the affair of Rothschloss.

A short time after that affair the regiment of Zieten had the first occasion of displaying the bravery of their new commander. The king who was become still more sensible of the necessity of increasing the number of light troops had commissioned colonel de Nazmer to form a corps of uhlans in Prussia and to march them into Silesia. Being arrived at the camp of Strehlen the whole army was struck with the fine appearance of the men and the goodness of the horses. The king in particular was highly pleased on the occasion, and declared that he expected more from them than from the hussars themselves, at the same time adding, that he should soon furnish them with an opportunity of making trial of their prowess. These were, however, for the greater part, young men newly-raised, ill-exercised, and withal much encumbered by their long pikes. The king, nevertheless, sent them upon

upon an expedition near Grotkaw, taking at the same time the precaution to direct Zieten to lie in ambuscade near them, and to remain a mere spectator of the battle as long as it should go on in their favour in order to secure them the glory of their success, but in case of a repulse, to support and rescue them. The event shewed the propriety of this measure.

The uhlans began the attack with impetuosity. The enemy, who soon discovered with whom they had to cope, received them with such vigour that their ranks were immediately broken, and themselves put to flight, and being hemmed in on all sides they began to give themselves up for lost. These raw troops, who even had they preserved their ranks would have been but little formidable to the Austrians, as they were unpractised in the use of their arms, ceased entirely to be so the moment their ranks were broken. Their pikes, which were of no use in action, now tended to impede their flight. They wounded one another in the disorder into which they

were

were thrown; or in bearing their arms too low, the point stuck into the ground, the rider was unhorsed, and his steed stumbled and fell with him.

Zieten leaving his ambuscade hastened to the relief of the uhlans. The enemy struck with surprise, halted, and forming themselves into order of battle made vigorous resistance against this unexpected attack. The brave hussars, however, soon changed the face of the battle and delivered their comrades, and after having recovered a great part of the prisoners, they forced the enemy to retreat. The uhlans, who had now regained their former courage, rallied themselves and joining the victorious squadrons, completely routed the Austrians. Zieten who returned with them to the camp had to regret the loss of one of their officers who had been killed at the beginning of the action. * He presented to the king the regiment he had just saved, and which without his

*) The brave captain de Kladowsky.

his assistance would have been annihilated almost at its very birth. The loss, however, which the uhlans sustained and the bad success of their first enterprise induced the king to transform them into hussars. They were then in their own element, and, with the aid with their sabres, they were soon able to efface the memory of the unfortunate day of the pikes.

The Austrian hussars observed with an evil eye their young rivals disputing the palm with them, and in almost every instance bearing it away. They were impatient to take revenge, and were particularly irritated against the regiment of Zieten. Yet though this regiment consisted at that time but of six squadrons, they nevertheless resisted the superior force of the enemy, and always came off with honour. The bravery of each individual, the able dispositions made by their officers, rendered this little corps as formidable in their attack as they were invincible on the defensive. Of this we shall only state a single instance. Sixty hussars being posted

at Ulmendorf were surprised by a numerous detachment of the enemy and were in the greatest danger of being made prisoners, when their principal officer * disposing them in a masterly manner formed such a front as enabled him to keep the enemy aloof till a reinforcement arrived under the command of one of his comrades. ** Scarce were these two squadrons united, when falling upon the Austrians, in their turn, they repulsed them with great loss. Zieten, moreover, distinguished himself personally at Freywald, as well as on many other occasions, about this time, of which no particulars are handed down to the present day.

The royal army, as the reader may see at large in the posthumous works of Frederick, *** passed the rest of this campaign in marches and counter-marches without coming to

* Captain de Ritter.

** Captain de Ledivary, who was killed in the action.

*** The History of my own Times.

to any decisive measures. Breslaw was taken by stratagem, Neisse was beseiged for the sake of form, and given up on the twelfth day in consequence of a secret convention which had been negotiated by the English minister. In virtue of this convention the two armies withdrew from each other, and the Prussian troops remained unmolested in the winter-quarters which they had taken in Silesia and Bohemia. The hussars under the command of Zieten were stationed at Hermstadt, Guraw, and in several other small towns in Silesia.

The energy which had distinguished the troops of Zieten and the glory they had acquired with him rendered them doubly dear to him; he was, therefore, highly gratified when the king, during the winter-quarters set about reinforcing the hussar-regiments, and his in particular, which from six squadrons was increased to ten, and divided into two battalions, the second of which was commanded by major de Soldan. Zieten employed himself during the present inaction of

the army in the organization of his new recruits, and he was careful that among the great numbers that offered themselves to be enlisted, none but men of good appearance, active spirit, and sound constitution should be admitted. The king, moreover, had enjoined him to engage as many Hungarians as he could find; his majesty being persuaded, that, on account of their intrepidity, their dexterity on horseback, and their manly and distinguished deportment in general, that nation was peculiarly fitted for such kind of service.

The attention which Zieten was giving to the organization of his regiment was soon interrupted. He received an order from Potsdam, dated the 15th of January, 1742, to leave his winter-quarters and immediately join the army of marshal de Schwerin which lay before Ollmutz. He began his march at the head of such of his troops as were ready for service, leaving those only behind as had been newly raised and some officers to provide them with horses. The frontier was the general rendevous of the regiment, but he had scarce-

scarcely passed it before he heard that Ollmutz had surrendered.

At this time all the armies destined to operate against the queen of Hungary were embodied in Bohemia and Moravia. Ollmutz was in the hands of the Prussians, the elector of Bavaria had taken Prague by surprise, and all the military posts were occupied by French, Saxon, Bavarian or Prussian troops. The Austrians, too weak to cope with these combined operations, had fallen back upon their own frontiers as far as Tabor and Budweis. Vienna was now in danger, and while the queen's reinforcements advanced in hasty marches in order to save the capital, the inhabitants were alarmed by a report that Zieten was already at their gates.

The king, in fact, having ordered fifteen thousand men belonging to count de Schwerin's army to advance as far as Znaym, the vanguard of this corps (of which Zieten made part) had pushed still farther and penetrated into Austria. Zieten's regiment occupied

pied Stockeraw, two German miles from Vienna and spread a general alarm. His hussars were dreaded even at a distance, their approach created new terror, and that terror was now at its height. The capital, however, suffered no farther mischief than what this pannic had inflicted. The king being ill supported by his allies, found himself obliged to give up acting on the defensive; the siege of Brunn did not take place, and Zieten received orders to withdraw with the rest of the troops. Before he quitted his post he was enabled to procure out of Austria abundance of provisions for the army, and in this expedition he had acquired the glory of having penetrated farther into that country than any of the Prussian generals did after him.

A short time after these transactions * a body of eight thousand Hungarians being formed at Skalitz on the frontiers of Moravia, and appearing to advance into Silesia by the way

* In the beginning of March.

way of Jablunka, the king sent prince Diederich of Anhalt to disperse them and destroy their magazines. Zieten at the head of his regiment, which composed the vanguard, met the enemy at Gedingen, and after a brisk engagement took between two and three hundred prisoners. Having put the rest to flight he advanced on to Skalitz. * The only road that led to that place was over a long dike which crossed a marsh traversed by several canals, the bridges of which had been broken down. Zieten caused them to be repaired, and advanced with his hussars and two regiments of dragoons against the enemy who were posted near the dike. The latter being, as it seemed, discouraged by the unhappy affair of Gedingen fell back, after having fired a few cannon, the moment they saw the Prussians marching towards them.

The magazines were burnt or thrown into the water, and the town which the inhabitants

* In Hungary.

tants had hastily abandoned was pillaged by order of the commander in chief.

The next day the detachment marched to Ungarisch-Brod, where another magazine lay which was defended by three hundred volunteers. Zieten surrounded them, and after having taken them all prisoners burnt the magazine.

A body of Hungarian chasseurs had marched to Meseritz under the command of count de Scherotin with a view of surprising and carrying off the Prussian baggage. Zieten received information of this, and having discovered their design, marched against them and had the good fortune to drive them into a wood, where he kept them shut up till the arrival of Posadowsky's dragoons, by whose assistance he dislodged them, and killing part he made the rest prisoners of war.

After these fortunate expeditions he received orders to rejoin the corps of the prince of Anhalt, which the king had left under the walls

walls of Ollmutz, while he himself returned into Bohemia with the grand army. Prince Charles of Lorain taking advantage of this movement penetrated into Moravia to attack the prince of Anhalt with superior force. The situation of the Prussians was very critical. They were not only the weaker party, but the enemy had taken new courage under the auspices of the able general who had just been placed at their head, and who was impatient to distinguish himself by new and brilliant exploits. The Prussian general, however, displayed so much talent and shewed himself so worthy of the army he commanded, that by skilful marches and the choice of strong and well-chosen positions, he was able to keep the enemy at a distance and prevent them from undertaking any thing of moment; nor was it before he had consumed his last barrel of meal that he had recourse to retreat.

It was then that Zieten approved himself of the greatest service to him, and it is well known that ever after the prince entertained the

the highest esteem for him and bore him the strongest attachment. Zieten, moreover, who covered the baggage and led the vanguard in this splendid and victorious retreat, acquitted himself with so much vigilance, ability and success, that when the Prussian army arrived in Upper Silesia they had scarcely sustained any loss.

As soon as this corps had evacuated Moravia, prince Charles entered Bohemia, where the king gained a victory over him on the 17th of May between Zachaslaw and Chotusitz, without having waited the arrival of the reinforcement which was hastening to his assistance under the command of general de Derschau, and which did not join him till the battle was won. Zieten and his regiment shared the honours of the day.

Soon after this the preliminaries of peace were signed at Breslaw, Charles VII. was acknowledged emperor, and the perpetual sovereignty of the dutchy of Silesia ceded to Prussia.

This

This splendid and important acquisition was the work of the two first years of the reign of Frederick. A genius like his was, indeed, necessary for the conception and execution of the plan, but in order to second it, the brave generals his father had left him were likewise necessary. The king, who felt the extent of the obligations he lay under to them and all the utility which he could afterwards derive from their talents, knew how to value their services, and never forgot that it was to his army he owed the first increase of his power and the first advancement he had made in the career of glory. His posthumous works remain in that respect an eternal monument of his gratitude.

Zieten was of the number of those who contributed to consolidate the strength and power of Prussia. Several enterprises, ably combined and vigorously executed, owed their success to him and concurred in promoting the fortune of the two campaigns. His principle merit, however, consisted in his having furnished his country with a new art of attack,

tack, a new kind of soldiery, the usefulness of whom was soon felt and experienced; and who aspired to the honour of protecting camps, securing marches, covering transports and retreats; in a word, of sacrificing themselves for the common cause with the most ardent and noble devotedness. In a short space of time he inured his brave disciples to danger, to combat, and to victory. He accustomed them to overcome every obstacle, and he was himself convinced that with their aid he might undertake every thing and insure success. His merit, therefore, procured him the esteem and consideration of the monarch, and the singular honour of returning, at the end of two years, a colonel and commander of a regiment into the capital he had quitted in the capacity of a major at the head of a single squadron.

His liberal ambition and the enthusiastic love he bore his country must have found their noblest recompense in what he had done for it, and in what it had done for him; and the more so as his enjoyment was unembittered by the slightest reproach.

He

He could look back upon the past without a blush; and, without having, like many other great characters in the career of arms, sullied the name of hero by acts of cruelty or weakness, he could feast his memory on deeds of justice and humanity.

It is no wonder, therefore, that with principles like these he should return from the two campaigns as poor as when he set out, and consequently still unable to complete his favourite plan of embellishing the seat of his ancestors. Occasions of enriching himself had not been wanting during that active period. He had over-run Bohemia and Moravia at the head of his light troops and had penetrated, as the reader has seen, into Austria and Hungary. The king, moreover, had repeatedly hinted to him that he had it in his power to make his fortune; yet his heart and his principles would not allow him to employ the arms he bore for the purposes of self-interest, which often transforms the protector of the country into the persecutor of defenseless humanity.

Among

Among other letters which he received from the king on this subject while he was carrying on the war upon the frontiers of Hungary, we find the following one.

"My dear colonel de Zieten.

I order you by the present letter to enjoin all your captains, etc. As to the sums to be furnished to the officers during their winter-quarters, the annexed tariff will direct you. If your officers, however, should be able to procure any extraordinary emoluments, I shall not examine the matter very nearly, provided they take care not to push things too far, that they have recourse to gentle means, and provoke no complaints nor applications for redress.

Znaym, February 20th, 1742. Frederick."

The tariff of which this letter makes mention probably indicated the sums only, and not the objects on which they were to be levied, since Zieten who did not, or who probably would not understand his majesty, applied for farther information, and received the following answer.

"My

"My dear colonel de Zieten.

My intention is that during your cantonment on the frontiers of Hungary, you levy by way of contribution one thousand rix-dollars for yourself, and three hundred for each captain, which sums are destined to the purpose of defraying your winter-quarters. You will, however, only make your levies upon such places as lie immediately along the frontiers.

Solonitz, March 30th, 1742.

Frederick."

It is evident that in the execution of commissions of this nature it depended solely on Zieten to amass considerable wealth. Not only the most favourable opportunities fell in his way, but he had likewise the king's permission to avail himself of them; for his majesty's express indulgence to the officers in general must be considered as a tacit allowance of the like favour to their chief. Yet notwithstanding all these advantages, he quitted the country with empty hands, generously sacrificing the improvement of his fortune to the

the love and esteem of the inhabitants; nor did he in the subsequent course of his life ever deviate from those principles.

Endowed with such firmness of character, it was not likely that Zieten, whose conduct under the pressure of untoward events had always been irreproachable, should be corrupted by any change of circumstances. The storms of his life had subsided, and he was now happy to the full extent of his wishes; yet averse to all pretentions, however conscious he must have been of his own deserts, he continued to live just as he had lived before the war, and divided his time between his family and the duties of his profession.

In this manner passed away the two first years after the conclusion of the peace. Notwithstanding his advancement in rank and the increasing celebrity of his name, he never swerved from the former simplicity of his life any farther than occasional circumstances required, and being persuaded that he had still a more splendid part to act, and higher services

vices to perform, he prepared for his task in silence, and held himself ready to obey the first call of honour and his country.

Zieten employed all the interval between the first and second Silesian war in improving his regiment and introducing such reforms therein as he considered expedient and necessary. The king having recommended to the principal officers of his light troops the different modes of evolution which he had observed in the practice of the Austrians, Zieten without admitting them indiscriminately examined and made trial of them all, and impartially adopted such as appeared the best to him. Not satisfied with these improvements the king was desirous to furnish the hussar-officers, during the leisure the interval of peace allowed them, with opportunities of giving proof of their talents in the military art. For this purpose Zieten and the chiefs of his squadrons were required to make dispositions in writing on subjects the king had given them, which his majesty afterwards revised in order to ascertain to the extent of

their scientific acquirements. Hence he was enabled to recognize the superiority of those of Zieten, which perhaps he had hitherto not sufficiently acknowledged and which he afterwards, in consequence of false insinuations, again misjudged and undervalued for a season. The error into which the monarch fell was but too well calculated to mislead the public likewise; and, by way of correcting their judgment, to that error we must refer such ill-informed declaimers as will not allow Zieten to have been versed in the science of tactics, but ascribe all his merit to courage and good fortune. A prejudice established on such false grounds is, however, refuted in an unanswerable manner by the contents of the following letter from the king.

"My dear colonel de Zieten.

I received, with your letter of the 9th, your disposition upon the subject laid down, together with those of your principal officers. I am in general satisfied with them, and particularly with yours and captain d'Ostrowsky's. You will inform your officers that I consider this occupation as far from being unimportant,

since

since the exercise of the mind in times of peace essentially facilitates the operations of actual service. I remain your affectionate king,

Charlottenburg, 12th July, 1743.

Frederick."

Yet while the king was thus bestowing his care and approbation on the regiment of Zieten he gave great chagrin to their chief as well as to the other officers in having named several veteran serjeants of the infantry lieutenants in the hussars, on the recommendation of the prince of Dessau. * These soldiers, it is true, were brave and experienced men, and as officers in the infantry would have been an acquisition to the army; but having never been accustomed to ride, and being too far advanced in age to learn the evolutions of the light cavalry, they could not be of the least service in the regiment into which they

 were

* They had served in his regiment.

were transplanted. This mortification was soon followed by another which effected Zieten in a more sensible manner. The king having invited several Hungarian officers into his service and incorporated them into the light troops, named some of them generals and commanders of regiments the better to secure their attachment. At this Zieten could not refrain from taking umbrage; he was the oldest colonel and yet was supersceded in favour of strangers. In all probalility he had applied to the king to be invested with the title and at least to receive the pay of a general officer, since he received the following letter from his majesty.

"My dear colonel de Zieten.

In reply to your letter of the 12th, I exhort you to have patience till I shall judge proper to think of you. You have only to recollect with what rapidity you have been advanced; a circumstance which could not have taken place had you served in the heavy cavalry or in the troops of the line. You would, in such cases, have hardly attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and have been much worse off

in

in point of emoluments. I am your affectionate king,

Potsdam, January 14th, 1743.

Frederick."

The reasoning of the king was correct enough. Zieten as a dragoon would have remained at a great distance from Zieten as a hussar; but in the latter capacity, it might be said, he had brought that kind of soldiery to a high degree of perfection, and had strong claims upon the gratitude of his majesty; yet no one chose to enter into explanations with that prince, and Zieten submitted with good grace to what he was unable to redress. He had, however, soon after the satisfaction of seeing the regimentals of his hussars reformed and embellished. The fur-mantles of the troopers were garnished with white borders, and those of the subalterns with brown ones. Their felt-caps, which they formerly wore in all seasons, were now worn during summer only, and replaced in winter by caps of martin for the officers, and of bear-skin for the private men.

Zie-

Zieten, moreover, was gratified about the same time in a manner more noble and more worthy of him. He received the royal mandate, directing him to exert his care and vigilance in favour of other regiments in the service. The letter is dated Potsdam, May 16th, 1743, and is couched in the following terms.

"My dear colonel de Zieten.

You will see by the inclosed the order I gave to captain de Steusting of the black hussars now garrisoned at Copenick. My intention is that during their residence at Berlin you should exercise them and put them into such order as will fit them for actual service with all possible diligence and attention. I am your affectionate king,

Frederick."

About this time an incident furnished Zieten with a fine opportunity of displaying the goodness of his heart and the general humanity of his character. In the king's letter of the 14th of January, allusion had been made to the time in which he served in the dragoons, and this had awaked his feelings and renew-

renewed the painful story of that period. Soon after this the remembrance of the same period was retraced in deeper colours. The reader will recollect the captain who had persecuted him in so illiberal a manner in Prussia and so far depreciated him in the mind of Frederick William as to have induced his majesty to cashier him. This captain now made his appearance again; but how changed! His cowardise, which the late war had exhibited in its true point of view, had occasioned him to be expelled the regiment, and the baseness of his conduct had caused him to be every where considered as an outcast of honourable society. Tormented by conscience and feeling himself universally despised, he led a wandering life without any certain means of support, and being now at Berlin and in the lowest degree of misery, he had at length recourse to Zieten. He presented himself one morning, with a pale countenance and in ragged attire, before his old comrade. Our hero did not at first recollect his person, but how great was his surprise when he recognized in the stranger his former senior officer, and when he saw him

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on his knees imploring for pity and relief. All sense of injuries gave way to kinder emotions; he raised the wretched man from the ground, assured him he would forget and pardon the past, and required no farther reparation than the mere detail of the intrigues and cabals to which he had formerly been a victim. At the close of the shameful recital Zieten repeated the assurances which his distressful plight had extorted, and from that moment he became his avowed benefactor.

The writer of these memoirs can never forget the manner in which Zieten, in one of the last years of his life, spoke of this incident to her. While he was relating it she forgot with him his former enemy, his rancorous persecutor, and considered him merely as the object of his kindness and noble beneficence. She marked the tear in the eye of the venerable old man, but observed at the same time that his eye beamed with delight, and betokened his gratitude to god who had inspired him with such generous sentiments and had given him power to pardon injuries; —

"for,"

"for," continued he with honest exultation, "it was from the beneficent doctrines of re-"ligion that I drew such principles."

This period of Zieten's life was one of the most felicitous of any he had hitherto experienced. For this he was chiefly indebted to the cares and foresight of his excellent lady. Her singular economy and orderly management of all domestic concerns contributed essentially to their common happiness; for the income of Zieten, though ill-proportioned to the generosity of his disposition, yet surpassed his wants. He divided it among the necessitous, and gave away without troubling himself with any thoughts of the future. The cultivation of his lands and the care of their produce neither contributed to his amusement nor engaged his attention; and to his wife, who, he was happy to find, had a turn for such occupations, he committed the whole administration of the farm and dairy. Not that he imposed this task upon her with any view of making the most of his estate; he was only fond of seeing her engaged in a business in which

which she appeared to take so much delight. Far from being influenced by sordid views he remained voluntarily unacquainted with the improvements of his lands, and never inquired into the profits he derived from them.

In the year 1743 his lady bore him a son, the only one he had by this marriage. He embraced the infant with extreme delight; he had long wished to be a father, and he considered children as a gift from heaven and the supreme felicity of the conjugal union. The birth of his son did not, however, engage him to pay more attention to the improvement of his fortune. Riches were not his aim; his principal ambition, his ruling passion, was to be serviceable to his country whenever it stood in need of his sword.

The political horizon of Prussia now became obscured. The repose the country had of late enjoyed was nearly at an end. The system of the neighbouring powers, too inimical to the aggrandisement of that state, convinced the king and his ministers of the necessity

cessity of a new war to enable him to secure the acquisitions he had already made. During the two years of peace which Prussia had enjoyed, her example had not been at all imitated by the other powers. Austria elated with her better fortune forgot her losses and began to put forth her strength. Already the emperor Charles VII. was humbled, and deprived of the greater part of his hereditary dominions. The empire, torn by factions, was, no longer one compact body and the balance of power was in favour of the house of Austria, which on its part again aspired to the imperial scepter. Old alliances were broken, and new treaties were concluded. All the cabinets of Europe were in motion, and every political intrigue was played off to favour the interests of each respective court, and each court endeavoured by the assistance of its ministers and emissaries to pry into and discover the secrets of the others.

In this manner Frederick was apprized that the cabinets of Vienna, of London, and of Dresden had entered into a secret alliance against him.

him. As soon as he was well assured of the existence of such union he resolved to avert the effects of it by immediate preparation for war, and, in conjunction with the French, to direct his operations against the queen of Hungary in order to prevent the entire subjugation of the emperor, and to support the weak against the strong.

The following order was issued in consequence of the plan of war which the king had secretly formed.

"My dear colonel de Zieten.

I hereby order you to inform the officers of your regiment in my name that I should be glad if they would take chasseurs into their service instead of other domestics, or at least such persons as may be used as chasseurs, as such measure would not only be more becoming, but likewise in many respects more useful and more convenient to your officers. I am your very affectionate

Potsdam, March 9th, 1744.

Frederick."

The

The order to march found Zieten ill and confined to his bed. The state of his health, indeed, had been very infirm from his early youth. The wrongs, the vexations he had undergone contributed very much to impair it, and the fatigue of the service, to which he submitted like the lowest hussar, was ill-adapted to restore it. During the campaigns he inflexibly forbore to indulge himself in any of the comforts and conveniencies of life, nor could the tender instances of Mad. de Zieten prevail upon him to alter his plan. In all her letters she conjured him to take care of his health, spoke of the rheumatic complaints to which he was subject, and expressed her apprehensions of his being eventually attacked by a stroke of the palsy. She gently chid him for sleeping on the ground, exposed to the cold damps of the night, and intreated him, as the greatest proof of love he could shew her, that he would henceforth be more careful of himself. She furnished him with beds and matrasses, and would likewise have sent him a provision of tea, had she thought he would have made use of it. These particulars are

suf-

sufficient to shew to what degree Zieten could sacrifice his ease to his duty.

While he was in garrison and at leisure to pay some attention to himself he had been less unmindful of his health. He had even taken medical advice, but without effect. A general relaxation of body, attended with continual attacks of the headach, threatened to affect his intellects as well as to bring him to the grave. He had at last recourse to violent and desperate remedies which not only proved inefficacious, but likewise rendered his condition still more alarming. He grew worse daily and his recovery was at length despaired of. His country now called for his assistance, and at that animating voice his spirits revived, and making a strong effort, he quitted his sick-bed and marched with the army. * It was, however, generally supposed he could never reach the place of rendevous, and his disconsolate wife in particular, as appears from the

* In the month of June, 1744.

the letters she wrote her friends, was of that opinion. But either the effect of some new remedy, or the empire which the strong mind of Zieten had over his feeble body, or some incident not to be accounted for, enabled him to arrive in due time at his post.

Frederick, whose maxim it was to be always first in the field and to act on the offensive, suddenly entered Bohemia and marched directly to Prague. His army moved in three columns. The first, of which Zieten made part, and which the king commanded in person, traversed Saxony, either in a hostile or friendly way, along the eastern banks of the Elbe, and arrived upon the frontiers of Bohemia towards the middle of August. The king having caused the army to be preceded by a body of grenadiers and hussars in order to cover their march and secure provisions, Zieten was the first who met the enemy.

He found the regiment of Esterhazy on his way, and having fallen upon them unexpectedly, he killed a considerable number, took many pris-

prisoners, and still preceding the king's column, harassed the retreat of the rest. Several other rencounters, which he had with this corps, terminated in favour of the Prussians, and when they arrived before Prague almost every hussar wore the sabre-pouches of the regiment of Esterhazy. These pouches were very handsome and showy; for which reason the first who had gained them wore them by way of ornament. The other hussars soon began to covet them, and they were now considered as trophies. It was inglorious not to have them, an honour to possess them; and this trival circumstance acted as a powerful stimulation with Zieten's hussars and caused them to begin the present campaign with as much adour as they had displayed in terminating the preceding one.

The three columns being united before Prague on the 2nd of September, the king immediately began the seige of that place. On the 16th of that month the city surrendered, and the garrison, which consisted of twelve thousand men, were made prisoners of war.

This

This happy opening of the campaign induced the king to penetrate farther into Bohemia in order to expel general de Bathyani, and force prince Charles to evacuate Bavaria and fall back upon Austria. On the 17th he began to march, and Zieten resumed his post in the vanguard, which was commanded by general de Nassau, and consisted of twenty battalions and forty squadrons.

The greater part of the towns of Bohemia, which were ill-fortified and ill-guarded, opened their gates to him. Tabor alone made some resistance. On the 23rd of September a severe engagement took place between the Prussian and Austrian hussars. Zieten avenged the death of one of his brave officers * who fell therein; the next day the town surrendered.

On the 30th the advanced-guard appeared before Budweis, a town situated nine German miles from Lintz, upon the Austrian frontiers, and

* Captain de Wicklow.

and naturally very strong. It is surrounded and defended by a great marsh, extensive inundations, and the rivers Muldaw and Mutsch. This fortress was provided with a good garrison, and the commanding officer, far from surrendering, began to prepare for a vigorous defence. The Prussian general, desirous of taking the place by storm, made his attack on both sides at once. The attempt was not at first successful. Six hundred Croats, posted between the ramparts and the suburbs, and covered by the Muldaw, prevented the infantry from advancing along the causeway. Zieten was thereupon sent to reconnoitre the enemy, and while he skirted the Muldaw, the Croats killed and wounded several of his men; which rousing his resentment, immediately induced him to decide upon the part he had to take.

Three of his boldest hussars, under the appearance of watering their horses, tried the depth of the river, and having found it fordable, informed their commander thereof. The order was instantly given, and the whole regiment

giment plunged into the stream and crossed it, while the yellow hussars, who had accompanied Zieten, remained on the other side to cover the enterprise. The Croats being thus cut off behind, lost courage and betook themselves to flight. The hussars pursued them, and, having killed a great number, made prisoners of the rest. Budweis surrendered the same day. The infantry having been thus enabled to advance unmolested, the hereditary prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, at the head of his battalion, was the first before the gates, and the garrison obtained an honourable capitulation. On the 1st of October the castle of Frauenberg surrended to Zieten on the same conditions.

The king's division followed close upon the corps commanded by general de Nassau. Nothing impeded their progress, and after a march of fourteen days, they arrived and encamped at Budweis.

It was then that the king, desirous of doing justice to the merit, and rewarding the recent services of Zieten, advanced him to the rank

of major-general, * and, as a particular favour, and by way of reparation for the refusal he had given him in the year 1743, his majesty was pleased to order the commission to be antedated eight months, and to announce his advancement to him in the following letter.

"My dear colonel de Zieten.

In consideration of the faithful and distinguished services you have rendered me on every occasion that called for them, I have appointed you major-general of hussars, which rank will be dated from the first of February of the present year. I have accordingly given directions that the commission should be of such date, and I have the satisfaction to give you information thereof. I have likewise ordered the keeper of the army-chest to pay you the salary of a major-general on the war-establishment, as well as for the allowance of an aid-de-camp in particular, from the aforesaid date, and I am your affectionate

Frederick."

In

* October 3rd.

In this manner Zieten recovered in part what he had lost, and he had in fact no reason for complaint, as the foreigners, who had been preferred to him in time of peace, remained far behind him soon after hostilities had begun, and were besides totally eclipsed by him. It was not without the most urgent reasons that at the siege of Budweis two regiments, as we have seen, were put under his command; and if the writer of these memoirs has not been more explicit, it was owing to certain restrictions she has thought fit to lay herself under.

Hitherto every thing had succeeded to the king's desire, and even surpassed his expectations; but the sequel did not correspond with this brilliant commencement. That great commander fell into the snare which the Austrians had laid for him. Giving way on all sides to superior force, they had allured him into the pursuit of them in order to expose his army to all the horrors of famine. The Prussians had nothing but abandoned villages and desolated countries to traverse, and the light troops

troops of Bathyani, together with a body of ten thousand Hungarian hussars, impeded the arrival of provisions, and cut off every communication. The prince of Lorrain had left the banks of the Rhine, and marched with great rapidity towards Bohemia. On his way he had met with twenty thousand Saxons, with whom he reinforced himself. In this embarrassing situation the king had no hopes but in the issue of a battle. He endeavoured therefore to come up with the combined army, but being led astray by treacherous guides, he was unable to effect his purpose, and being pressed on all sides was at last obliged to abandon offensive measures and to strive to regain the city of Prague.

This retreat, which began the 8th of October, was extremely toilsome and distressing. It was made in the sight of the enemy, and Zieten, who was stationed in the rear with his light-horse, was incessantly harassed and annoyed. It is inconceivable that this division of the army remained unbroken, and suffered only partial losses, when its destruction seemed

ed to be mevitable; yet while general de Janus and his regiment gave way to the enemy, Zieten was enabled to cover the retreat, and the king happily arrived at Bechin on the evening of the 9th of October, and there formed his camp.

His majesty had left Zieten behind him at Tein, a small town situated on the banks of the Muldaw in order to guard that position till the camp-ovens and baggage were in safety. Besides his own regiment, the king reinforced him with that of Ruesch's hussars, and with two battalions of grenadiers drawn from the regiments of Saint-Surin and Jeetz. Zieten was not ignorant that the neighbouring woods were filled with light troops commanded by the famous partisans, Nadasty, Ghilany, and Trenck; and being likewise aware of their design to attack him, he took his measures accordingly, and chose the most advantageous position the nature of the ground afforded. He stationed the battalion of Saint-Surin in the town, opposite to the bridge; and in the redoubt which commanded the extremity there-

thereof, on the other side the stream, he posted a company of grenadiers. Two companies of the regiment of Jeetz were stationed without the town close to a dike and the rest remained within with the cannon by which the dike was covered. Himself, with his regiment and that of Reusch, took post out of the town, which then lay on his right, while he had the river full before him.

Scarcely had he effected this hasty disposition when two columns of the enemy came out of the wood. Their advanced-guard took the road to the Muldaw, and the flankers approached the bank of the river and began to fire. A young hussar belonging to Zieten's regiment, giving way to the impetuosity of his courage, plunged his horse into the stream and swam across it. His comrades followed his example, and two squadrons of the same hussars, stationed on the right wing, likewise plunged therein, imagining that such was the general's order. Zieten apprehended the consequence of such movement, and considered this part of his corps in a very perilous situation.

ation. He observed them make their onset with intrepidity; he then saw them give way to superior numbers, and at last fall back upon the infantry who were posted on both sides of the bridge. He had therefore no other part to act than that of hastening to their relief, and he accordingly ordered his hussars to cross the river, and then falling upon the enemy with great fury he repulsed them, and drove them again into the woods.

After having brought back his two squadrons Zieten had no sooner taken possession of his first post, than two new columns came out of the wood and divided themselves into three bodies. One of these marched directly to the redoubt with drums beating and colours flying, and attempted to carry it by storm. The grenadiers who defended it, received the enemy with great coolness, and, keeping up a continual fire, quickly repulsed them. In the mean while two other divisions had passed the river, above and below the town, the infantry having either mounted behind the troopers or taken advantage of the fords;

fords; and Zieten's corps, being dispersed on either side of the Muldaw, were in danger of being intirely cut off. A body of ten thousand men, of every kind of soldiery and of different nations, surrounded his troops, whose sole resourse now lay in the intrepidity and experience of their leader. Nor did their hopes prove fallacious. As soon as Zieten had observed the movement of the enemy and discovered their design, he made his dispositions in order to counteract it. To colonel de Ruesch he gave orders to pass over the bridge, to traverse the town at the head of the black hussars, and to receive the enemy's column which was approaching on the right. Having himself passed the river, he resumed his former position in order to oppose the enemy who were drawing near on the left. The two battalions of grenadiers, after having nearly consumed their ammunition, and finding themselves unable to defend the town, evacuated it and joined the hussars, in conjunction with whom they formed a triangle, of which they themselves composed one side, while the two regiments of hussars constituted the two others.

others. In this position they awaited the enemy.

In the mean while the column, which at first had uselessly attacked the redoubt, perceiving that it was abandoned as well as the town, followed close upon the two battalions, and scarcely had the latter taken their post in the midst of the hussars, when the Croats, arriving by a hollow way, fell upon the regiment of Ruesch with loud shouts, and made a general discharge, which was sustained with singular courage. The regiment was then about to charge in return, when Zieten, the better to secure success, suspended the moment of attack, dispatched three of his squadrons to the left in order to flank the enemy, and then fell upon them on all sides. While he broke their ranks, and, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, put them to flight; while thirteen squadrons fought with intrepidity, the infantry formed themselves into a square battalion under cover of seven other squadrons on the left, and engaged the column which operated on that side. Prodi-

gies

gies of valour were now displayed, and this handful of Prussians remained masters of the field, after having repulsed the enemy and made great slaughter. The exasperated hussars refused to give quarter; the greater part of the Croats were killed, and a few only were made prisoners.

The battle had begun at noon, and it lasted till near nine o'clock in the evening. The artillery had consumed all their ammunition; and out of sixty cartouches each grenadier had only six remaining. Three of Zieten's squadrons had sustained a continual fire; a hundred of his hussars lay dead on the field, and about seventy were wounded. He availed himself of the night and the retreat of the enemy in order to continue his march, and he encamped at the distance of half a German mile from Tein, upon the highway to Bechin, where the king had his head-quarters. He procured waggons for his wounded soldiers, and they were safely removed to Tabor.

As soon as the king had been informed of this battle, he had detached a body of near twelve thousand men from the main army to hasten to the relief of Zieten. This corps, notwithstanding the diligence of their proceedings, did not join the rear-guard till late in the night of the 10th, after the engagement had been happily terminated; and they could only applaud the success to which they had not the glory to contribute.

On the next day, Zieten and his troops gathered the fruits of their recent toils. Lieutenant de Belling * had been sent to report to the king the advantages obtained over the enemy, and his majesty, in spite of the ill-humour into which his disagreeable situation had thrown him, forgot his chagrin for a moment and gave himself up to joy. Delighted at this splendid defence, and charmed at the deliverance of his rear, he instantly mounted his

* Since that time one of the best generals of hussars in the Prussian service.

his horse, and proceeded to meet Zieten and his brave soldiers on their way. He applauded their valour, spoke of their leader in terms of consideration and gratitude, and placing himself at their head, led them in triumph through the whole camp. Every man rushed out of his tent to see them pass by, and the camp resounded with "Long live the "king! Long live Zieten and his troops!"

Frederick, indeed, possessed in an uncommon degree the art of rewarding and encouraging the soldier, and this secret alone, without his other accomplishments, had been sufficient to gain and secure the affection of his army. He assumed for a moment the immediate command of Zieten's regiment, and the whole regiment was more than ever devoted to him; and, at the same time, he inspired with new ardour the rest of the army, who, on account of their present critical situation, stood in need of such encouragement.

Zieten's care was now to make severe inquiry in order to discover the hussar who first

first passed the Muldaw and drew the two squadrons into such a perilous situation. His emissaries could not, or rather, with the connivance of the general, would not discover the valiant offender *; and he contented himself with publishing a proclamation, prohibiting such daring feats in future, on pain of death, and rendering the commanders of squadrons responsible, in that respect, for the conduct of their troops.

The royal army by insensible degrees approached the city of Prague, and encamped between Beneschaw and Konopisch, and the Austrians, who followed at some distance, formed their camp on the 15th near Chlumetz. By this movement the Prussian garrisons at Budweis, Frauenburg, Tabor, and Muhl-

* Nothing at the present day can render it improper to name him. It was the brave colonel de Lenz of the regiment of Zieten, a veteran to whom the writer of these memoirs is indebted for much historical detail. He it was likewise that first tried the depth of the ford at Budweis, see page 130.

Muhlhausen, where the sick and wounded lay, were exposed to the mercy of ten thousand Hungarians, who were scouring the country, and by whom they were all successively made prisoners. The king thus lost three thousand men; the regiment of Zieten thirty troopers at Budweis; and, at Tabor, all the hussars who had been wounded at Tein.

The prince of Lorrain, whose aim, it seemed, was to turn the king and cut off all communication with Prague, had encamped at Maschowitz. This alarming situation forced the Prussians to act on the offensive. The king made the necessary preparations on the 20th, and having passed the night under arms, and discovered, the next day, that the position of the enemy was inaccessible, he began to manœuvre in order to draw them from it. For this purpose he passed the Zasawa, and having encamped on the 25th at Pischeli, he continued his march towards Collin. On the abovementioned day Zieten was detached, under general de Nassau, to Kammersbourg for the purpose of dislodging the Austrians and Saxons.

The

The corps, which consisted but of ten battalions and thirty squadrons of horse, had a painful march to perform, as the country was mountainous and devoted to the interests of the adverse party. A detachment of three hundred hussars, that preceded the corps, supplied the want of better intelligence by the information they procured either by force or gentler means, and, in this manner, directed the progress of the march.

This detachment, under the command of two able officers, * lost their way one night for want of proper guides, and suddenly found themselves in the midst of woods and rocks, from whence there appeared to be no issue. At length they discovered a path which led to a village in the neighbourhood of Kammersbourg, and the detachment proceeded thither with extreme caution.

The

* Lieutenant-colonel de Billerbeck and major de Wippach.

The enemy had neglected to occupy this post, and the hussars immediately took advantage of their oversight. They surrounded the village, and, securing the persons of the bailif and his nearest relations, compelled the former to conduct a patrol in the most private manner to Kammersbourg for the purpose of procuring information respecting the force and position of the Austrians. They likewise threatened to punish him in the persons of his family and relations in case he should prove treacherous or fail in leading them in a proper manner; and the more effectually to intimidate him they shewed him the implements of the punishment that awaited his misconduct. The danger the bailif found himself in, and the distress of his relations, made him readily promise every thing that was required at his hands, and he was accordingly intrusted with a subaltern officer, six hussars, and a led-horse. Thus accompanied he stole through the advanced posts of the enemy and arrived at the cottage of a shepherd, whom he had mentioned as an intelligent man, and one who was perfectly acquainted with the country for many

many miles round. This man, they found, had taken the precaution of barricading himself in his hut, and it was nevertheless necessary to make sure of his person in haste and without noise. The patrol occupied the door, the bailif tapped at the window in order to awake him; but the shepherd, although he recognized the bailif's voice, grew distrustful and positively refused to let them in. Being repeatedly assured by his countryman that he had nothing to fear, he at last ventured to open the door, when two hussars suddenly laying hold of him, mounted him upon the spare-horse and the party returned in full speed to the village. The bailif and his family were released and the shepherd was taken to the camp, where he furnished the Prussians with every necessary information. General de Nassau having thus learnt all he wished to know, attacked the enemy the next day at Kammersbourg and dislodged them with very inconsiderable loss.

In consequence of this expedition, the success of which had been owing to the detach-

ment of Zieten's troops, the corps of general de Nassau entered Collin on the 30th of October, and thereby got the start of the enemy in the occupation of that important post.

The king, on his part, continued his retrograde march, and arrived with the main body of the army at the above town on the 4th of November, being closely followed by the prince of Lorrain, who during the march had always encamped in sight of the Prussians upon heights which effectually secured him from being attacked by them. His majesty was therefore naturally impatient to give him battle in order to extricate himself from his present embarrassing situation. His army had suffered extremely by the fatigues of a long retreat; his provisions were exhausted, the communications almost impracticable, and the season much advanced. The troops, hitherto full of ardour and activity, had displayed prodigies of courage and perseverance, but famine and sickness now oppressed them, and they were obliged to give way and retreat.

To evade still greater evils, and to procure some relaxation for his troops, the king resolved to station them in cantonments though the enemy still kept the field; and on the 9th of October the Prussians passed the Elbe near Collin. Nassau and Zieten covered the passage, and the former remained at Collin, while the latter accompanied the main army.

Collin and Pardubitz were become two places of great consequence, as they had served as communications between Prague and Silesia. The king, who felt the importance of securing their possession, furnished them with strong garrisons, and established a chain of posts along the Elbe, behind which the rest of his army were cantoned. At the distance of every German mile, his majesty stationed a battalion of infantry and three squadrons of hussars. Zieten, with a detachment of three squadrons from his own regiment, was posted at Fladop, at that time famous for a very numerous stud of horses. The king had taken his head-quarters at Turnow, near Pardubitz. The Austrians, under the command of prince Charles, and

and the Saxons, under that of the Duke of Weissenfels, were encamped on the other side the Elbe at Kuttenberg and Choltiz.

The enemy made several feigned attacks upon Collin with a view of masking their real plan. This plan was to cross the Elbe (the Austrians at Przelautisch, and the Saxons at Pardubitz) and to drive the Prussians intirely out of Bohemia. It is was not, however, attended with success. General de Nadasti and general de Trenck, who commanded the enterprise, being discovered in due time by a party of hussars, and repulsed with considerable loss by the garrison, were under the necessity of abandoning it, and the Austrian army encamped in sight of that of the king at Brelock between Collin and Pardubitz without having been able to pass the river.

Although the position of the enemy, as well as the general state of the two armies, did not encourage the Prussians to expect to keep them in awe during the winter, yet the king had not relinguished his hopes. Resolved

to

to wait the event to the latest moment, he flattered himself, that when the enemy had taken their winter-quarters between the Elbe and the Zasawa, he should be able to fall upon them, to disperse them, and to become master of the two circles of Bohemia which lay in the neighbourhood of Moravia.

But the enemy, who plainly perceived the king's intention, feared him too much to risk exposing themselves to the issue of it, and in order to get rid of so formidable a neighbour, they were obliged to abandon the idea of acting merely on the offensive. For this purpose the queen of Hungary, regardless of the fatigues the troops had already undergone and had still to go through, gave positive directions to her generals to force the passage of the Elbe, whatever loss of men it might occasion, for the purpose of cutting off the king from Prague, and forcing him to evacuate Bohemia.

Prince Charles, in consequence of the above orders, took his measures with equal prudence and address. He caused a quantity of scaling-lad-

ladders to be prepared by way of mask, and ordered such marches to be undertaken as might appear to explain and confirm the letters he had fabricated and sent off for Vienna, but which he knew would be intercepted on the road. From this coincidence of circumstances his majesty therefore calculated with much apparent propriety, that the enemy would make an attempt either on Prague or Collin on the 18th of November. With a view of counteracting this supposed design the king reinforced his garrisons, and especially that of Prague, with several thousand men. The real design of the enemy was wholly unknown to him and he thought himself perfectly secure on the other side of the Elbe, where the chain of posts was distributed in such manner as to warn him of the slightest movement that took place in that quarter. In effect, if prince Charles, on the night previous to the attack, had not succeeded in dispatching a body of hussars and uhlans across the river and concealing them in the wood, whence they were enabled to intercept and fire upon such as were dispatched from the advanced

vanced posts, his motions could not have remained so profound a secret. Nor is it possible to clear the hussars of Zieten from the imputation of negligence in the execution of their patrol-duty at this time; yet this is perhaps the only misconduct of which the regiment was guilty during the two first Silesian wars. But their general was inconsolable on account of its immediate consequences, as it was but too probably the principal cause of the enemy's success in an expedition that proved so disastrous to the Prussians.

While the king and his generals thus considered themselves in perfect security, the enemy were secretly preparing to surprise them; and, in the night of the 18th of October, the combined army approached the Elbe with such caution and with so little noise, that the pontons arrived at Teinetz upon the banks of that river before the Prussians had the least intimation of these proceedings. At the moment in which the passage began, the patrols perceived a movement and gave the alarm. Zieten and lieutenant-colonel de Wedel

del with three squadrons, and a battalion of grenadiers consisting of four companies, hastened to impede the progress of the enemy; and the former dispatched one of his officers * to make report of their situation to the king as well as to solicit a reinforcement; and, in full expectation of speedy succour, they marched to attack them.

Being arrived on the banks of the river, they found a bridge already thrown across it, and the troops defiling thereon. All the Austrian and Saxon grenadiers had been chosen, and distributed into battalions, for this enterprise, and the rest of the infantry, supported by a numerous artillery, had occupied the heights on the opposite bank, from whence they kept up a heavy fire upon the Prussians as they approached the Elbe. Notwithstanding this, the battalion of Wedel thrust back the column that were passing the river, and immediately took post before the bridge, where

* Cornet de Panko.

where they lay secure from the fire of the artillery, which could not play upon that spot without killing their own troops, while the fire of the Prussians, being directed towards the bridge, did great execution. Zieten remained at some distance at the head of his troops who were drawn up in order of battle to impede the construction of new bridges or to flank the enemy in case the battalion of Wedel should be unable to maintain their ground.

The Austrian batteries continued to fire on the Prussians without effect, and at length all their grenadiers being drawn out, an attempt was made to storm the bridge and force a passage. The Prussians waited for them with cool intrepidity, nor did M. de Wedel give the word to fire till the bridge was thronged with the enemy. A well-directed discharge then threw them into confussion, and they were for a second time driven back.

The third attempt proved more fortunate; the Austrians being continually reinforced by fresh

fresh troops at length were able to repulse the battalion of Wedel, weakened by the loss of men and the long duration of the encounter; and they began to form on the other side of the river. Zieten now marched against them with two of his squadrons, and charged them with such vigour that they were soon obliged to abandon the ground they had gained, and to seek for shelter on the opposite bank of the Elbe. The rout was so great that many of the grenadiers were thrust by their comrades into the river. The Prussian infantry, in the mean while, rallied and resumed their former position.

The Austrians, who little expected to meet with such opposition, seeing a handful of men, a battalion and three squadrons only, cope with a whole army, were both astonished and disconcerted. They kept up a terrible fire, but without the effect they had looked for. Their artillery had been pointed too high. The Prussians, however, lost a considerable number of men.

Zie-

Zieten himself had been exposed to the most imminent danger. His horse being shot under him, a subaltern of the name of Forkard, the moment he observed the disaster, dismounted; and without any consideration of the peril to which he himself would be liable, presented his horse to his general. Zieten thanked him in the kindest terms, and, instead of accepting his offer, had the generosity to say "Keep your horse, comrade; you are "an Austrian deserter; and if you are taken "you will be hanged. Make haste to re-"mount." During this transaction another subaltern * having offered him his, he accepted it, and assured him, that in case the want of the horse should throw him into the hands of the enemy, he would take proper steps to procure his liberty. The hussar, however, did not give him an opportunity of making good his promise; he had recourse to an expedient that did equal credit to his sense and his bravery; — having joined the ranks of Wedel's

* Puschel.

Wedel's battalion, he fought as a foot-soldier, and fortunately regained his squadron.

The above-mentioned feature in the life of Zieten was indeed worthy of him, and exhibits him in an interesting point of view both as a hero and a man. It were to be wished that such like instances of generosity, which frequently occurred during his long career, could be collected and preserved for his own honour and the instruction of posterity. But no one could be more sparing than he was in communications of this kind. Those even whom he most honoured with his confidence, notwithstanding all their solicitations, could never draw such secrets from him. He did good by stealth; he was conscious of its value, and loved to practise it, but he always knew how to elude the eye of observation.

This unequal engagement was carried on during the space of five hours. The Prussians continued undismayed, but their ammunition was spent, their loss of men increased, and no succour arrived. Several hussars had been dispatch-

dispatched to the king to inform himo f the danger, and not one of them reached the camp. They had been all killed or taken by the enemy's pickets, who had concealed themselves the day before in the neighbouring woods; and the officer who was first sent off must certainly have perished, as he never was heard of afterwards. All hopes of succour being now lost, the commanders of this small corps began to think of an honourable retreat in order to avoid the unnecessary sacrifice of their men; but they did not come to this determination till the Austrians and Saxons had already passed the Elbe in several places and were making preparations for a general assault. The Prussians, however, retreated in the face of the enemy, and in such good order that they reached the forest of Wischonowitz without being broken, and carried with them all the wounded that were capable of being removed.

After having attained his end and forced the passage of the Elbe, the prince of Lorrain established his camp on the other side of that river.

river. Of these disastrous events the king was not informed till it was too late for redress. The cannonading indeed had been heard at the head-quarters and along the banks of the Elbe; but his majesty persisted in the belief that the attack was directed against Collin. He had not thought it at all necessary to send a reinforcement to a quarter which he did not suspect to be menaced; whereas had he afforded timely relief, the enemy must have been repulsed with considerable loss. Yet, whatever might have been the result, the king himself in his posthumous works speaks of this encounter with great elogium. "The battle of Teinitz," says he, "will be ever me-"morable in the annals of Prussia. In this "splendid defence M. de Wedel has emulated "the name of Leonidas." A portion of this praise falls to the share of Zieten, and his majesty could not but tacitly allow it, when he adds "The prince of Lorrain surprised that "a single battalion of Prussians should dispute "the passage of the Elbe for five hours to-"gether, observed to those who surrounded "him, that the queen of Hungary would be

pecu-

"peculiarly happy to have officers in her army "worthy of being compared with such heroes."

This memorable day decided the fate of the campaign. The king found himself compelled to take up his winter-quarters in Silesia. The army began to march after having recalled the detached parties, and, among the rest, that of general de Nassau. The evacuation of Bohemia was executed without any loss and the troops marched in two columns, one of which the king commanded in person. The frontier was passed at Braunaw, and Zieten was the last that quitted it.

Winter-quarters being now established, the king returned to Berlin, and the campaign appeared to be closed, when the Austrians made a sudden irruption into the county of Glatz, and Upper-Silesia. Persuaded that the Prussian army, which had considerably suffered, would be too weak to make much resistance, they had promised themselves a sure and easy triumph, and in this opinion they had been further confirmed by observing the well-timed retreat of the advanced-posts, which on the

arrival of the enemy, as has been already said, had fallen back upon the main army. The king apprized of this unexpected expedition, took the field, and soon made the Austrians repent of their inconsiderate conduct. After having concerted with the prince of Dessau, he sent three bodies of troops against them, commanded by Dessau, Lewald, and Nassau. Zieten and his regiment were under the orders of the first of those generals, who having formed at Neisse, marched forthwith to Jägerndorf with a view of dislodging the enemy. The Austrians were, however, no longer there. At the approach of the prince they had retired into Moravia with much precipitation and suffered great loss on the way through the inclemency of the weather, desertion, and the attack made upon their rearguard by Zieten. Their retreat indeed resembled a flight. They passed several nights without provisions and tents, exposed to all the rigours of winter. The troops of Lewald and Nassau met with more opposition, though not of long duration, and Silesia was soon cleared of the enemy.

After

After this short but important expedition, Zieten returned to his winter-quarters near Neisse, and enjoyed a repose, of which, on account of his late fatigues, he stood in great need. His regiment had suffered essentially during the campaign. Almost continually exposed to the enemy either in the rear or the van, he had lost a great number of his men, and it was necessary to supply their place by fresh recruits against the ensuing spring; a task to which he now betook himself with his usual attention and despatch. Nor had the king waited for the expedition of Upper-Silesia to give Zieten new proof of his approbation. Scarcely had his majesty arrived at Berlin when he was pleased to grant him an augmentation of his income to the amount of twelve hundred dollars, and wrote the following letter on the occasion, bearing date the 30th of December, 1744.

"My dear major-general de Zieten.

As a mark of my satisfaction and good will, and by way of further rewarding your faithful services, I have determined and given orders, that you shall enjoy the pension of

seven hundred dollars vacant by the death of colonel de Varenne, together with the five hundred dollars which he received on the Gueldres establishment. I inclose you a copy of the order, and remain your affectionate

Frederick."

Besides this flattering token of his sovereign's favour, Zieten had the pleasure of seeing a great princess eager to testify the esteem she bore him. His reputation had reached the capital of the Russian empire; and though at the present day, in which the art of war is brought to a higher degree of perfection, his exploits would not make the same impression on the public, they were then of so astonishing and extraordinary a nature as to induce the empress, notwithstanding the principles of neutrality which she had adopted, to make his regiment a present of three hundred valuable horses. Yet, however flattering these distinctions and marks of esteem must have been to him, they made no alteration in his manner of thinking. If misfortunes and ill usage often rendered him inflexible and

haughty

haughty, the favours of fortune never produced any other effect upon him than that of redoubling his zeal.

On the opening of the second campaign, which had become inevitable by the refusal of the queen of Hungary to listen to proposals of peace, the political system of Germany had, in consequence of the death of Charles VII, taken a new form. The league of Frankfort was dissolved; the empire became more and more favourable to the interests of the house of Austria, to which the imperial crown now seemed to be clearly destined. The Bavarians had disarmed, and their new elector had recently made peace with Maria-Theresa. The Saxons, who had long been the secret enemies of Prussia, now no longer strove to disguise their sentiments, and their vicinity created new disquietude. The French, the only allies that remained true to Frederick, began to grow cold in his cause. The theatre of the war was now to be transported from Alsace into Bohemia and Silesia, and the enemies of the king had stirred up one half of Europe

Europe against him. A formidable league had already taken place, and Prussia's sole defence consisted in her king and her army.

Frederick profited by the errors he had committed, and the experience he had gained, during the last campaign. They had taught him, that to draw the enemy into the defiles of Silesia was more advisable than to venture himself too far into those of Bohemia. Devoted to this plan and having taken his measures accordingly, he waited the arrival of the Austrians and for the favourable moment of giving them battle in the open country. A body of Hungarians (the same that had entered the Upper-Silesia the preceding winter) again made their appearance there in the month of March for the purpose of creating a diversion. The king had recourse to no other expedient than that of uniting under the command of colonel de Winterfeld all the regiments of hussars cantoned in those quarters, and despatching them against the enemy. The effect was so sudden, that in a few days the country was completely cleared of them,

and

and tranquillity again restored. In a short time scenes of a more serious and sanguinary nature were destined to take place.

The king's main army and the regiment of Zieten which made part of it embodied at the beginning of April between Patzkaw and Frankenstein. The margrave Charles, at the head of a corps of nine thousand men, covered the Upper-Silesia and occupied Jägerndorf and Troppaw. These two divisions in forming had left a vacuity which extended from Jägerndorf to Neisse. A body of Austrians, consisting of twenty thousand men, took advantage of this error; and dividing into two parties, the one encamped between the king and the margrave and occupied all the posts of communication, whilst the other, encamping along the bank of the Oder, environed the latter. Thus situated the margrave found himself cut off both from a part of his baggage which lay, under a small escort, at Neustadt; and, what was far more alarming, from the army of the king. The enemy's aim was not solely to menace the division that occupied the

the Upper-Silesia; it was principally to draw the king's attention to that quarter, and after inducing him to send a reinforcement to the margrave, to take advantage of the naked state of the frontier and proceed with a powerful army to Landshut. The king, who guessed the intention of the Austrian general, kept his own position as the most important one in the present state of things, but seeing himself on the verge of a general engagement, and being desirous of opposing the enemy with as much force as he could collect, he resolved to recall the margrave. But to communicate his orders to him was a matter of no common difficulty. Every avenue was guarded by the Austrians; nothing escaped their vigilance; — couriers, chasseurs, and even spies, were immediately discovered and taken.

Thus embarrassed, the king ordered a detachment of Zieten's regiment to attempt to force their way to Jägerndorf; and an hundred and twenty hussars, under the command of captain de Probst and three other officers,

cers, * set off on this daring expedition. Scarcely had they arrived in the neighbourhood of Rosswald on the other side of Neustadt, when they met with two regiments of cavalry, who immediately charged them. Numbers were too disproportioned to admit of an engagement; the Prussians therefore retreated in good order, regained the town of Neustadt without the loss of a single man, and brought with them three prisoners they had taken, who were presented by lieutenant de Belling to the king.

From these prisoners information was obtained respecting the force and position of the enemy; but to elude the vigilance of their pickets and impart the king's orders to the margrave still appeared as impracticable as before. Unless an express detachment could be sent to Jägerndorf all attempts seemed to be useless; and such movement might give a false direc-

* M. de Belling, at that time lieutenant, was of the number.

direction to the whole campaign. Yet the position of the Austrian army rendered the junction of the margrave every hour more necessary, and the king was in want of the reinforcement the more effectually to strike the great blow he had meditated; nor was the margrave, in the critical situation in which he found himself, to be abandoned to his own resources, nor deprived of the instructions of his sovereign. The question was how to communicate the latter to him, and the choice of the king fell upon Zieten. His majesty therefore sent him the following orders by the hands the officer who had brought an account of the affair of Neustadt.

"You will do all in your power, my dear "Zieten, to push your regiment as far as Jä-"gerndorf, where you will deliver my orders "to the margrave Charles to march without loss "of time; to destroy such part of the maga-"zines of Troppaw as cannot be removed; not to "engage with the enemy in any serious affair; "and to gain Frankenstein by forced marches "in order to operate a junction with me."

At

At the same time the king enjoined Zieten to proclaim this order to the whole regiment, that in case they should not be able to make their way sword in hand through the Austrian posts, each hussar that escaped might inform the margrave of his majesty's intentions.

Zieten had a presentiment of receiving this commission, and indeed he began confidently to expect to be honoured with it. Even before the order arrived he advised his lady, who had followed him to his winter-quarters, to prepare for her return to Berlin, adding that something of a very important nature was about to take place. Mad. de Zieten was the more astonished at this declaration as none of the wives of the staff-officers in general had received any such intimation. But Zieten had spoken with the officer who came from Neustadt with despatches for the king. He was well apprized of the present state of things, and foresaw that his majesty would not leave the margrave without either information or succour. Mad. de Zieten seemed much disinclined to follow her husband's advice;

vice; he urged her, however, with the tenderest importunity, and prevailed on her to leave at an early hour a company with whom she had dined. She made ready for her departure in the course of the evening; the king's order arrived in the night, and she set off.

The commission with which Zieten was charged was in fact of a very delicate nature. He was fully sensible of its importance, as well as of the uncertainty of its success, of which the king himself had likewise doubted as appears by the supplement he had thought necessary to add to the order. The declaration contained in the supplement, and which he was commanded to make known to the regiment, was far from meeting with his approbation. He was averse to damp the ardour of his troops by the communication of the precaution his majesty wished to take; he therefore concealed the supplementary part of the order, and ventured in that instance to counteract the will of his sovereign. Instead of following the line that had been traced

traced out to him, he adopted a new plan, founded indeed on a circumstance trifling in itself, but which proved of admirable use to him.

During the course of the last campaign, and even during the winter-excursion in Upper-Silesia, his regiment had worn their summer-dress which consisted of red mantles and felt-caps. Their fur-accoutrements had not arrived from Berlin before the campaign had already closed: Hence the Austrians were not as yet acquainted with that part of their regimentals, which moreover greatly resembled those worn by the hussars of Spleny, at this time making part of the division posted at Leobschutz. Zieten, who was aware of the latter circumstance founded upon it his hopes of deceiving the enemy, by making his own hussars pass for theirs, and leading his Prussians in broad daylight through their army. It must be confessed that few instances have happened of an attempt so boldly conceived and so happily executed.

The success of this plan depended on the secrecy with which it was to be conducted. After having drawn out his regiment, Zieten began his march without informing any one of his intentions. He passed the Neisse at Ottmachaw, half-way to Neustadt; from whence making an inflection into a wood, he commanded his men to dismount, and their horses to be fed. He afterwards ordered his troops to proceed deeper into the wood and to take some rest. His officers could not at all comprehend this new kind of manœuvre, and hearing a heavy cannonading on the side on which Neustadt lay, ventured to ask if it would not be more advisable to repair thither and reinforce the division garrisoned in that town. "No, gentlemen," replied Zieten; "our march "must remain a secret to the enemy. We are "not strong; we must have recourse to stra- "tagem. The garrison of Neustadt is com- "posed of men who are well able to defend "themselves."

With this answer they were obliged to remain contented, though it left them as much

in

in the dark as ever. As soon as the firing had ceased the general continued his march and proceeded to Neustadt, where he had the satisfaction of finding the garrison safe although the enemy had endeavoured to surprise and carry them off. The officer * who had the chief command, seconded by another officer ** with a detachment of hussars, had repulsed and driven them back. Of this victory the latter informed Zieten on his entrance into the suburbs.

The general being arrived at Neustadt, drew out his regiment in the market-place, where they took a hasty refreshment and likewise fed their horses. He himself went to the top of the steeple to observe the retreat of the enemy; and from whence he saw them entering their camp in two distinct columns. The discovery of this induced him to avail himself of the opportunity it afforded him of following one

* Oesterreich.

** Captain de Probst, of the regiment of Zieten.

one of those columns under the appearance of making a part of it. He was well enough aware that this was a very adventurous, and even desperate expedient. Should he be discovered he was certain of being surrounded, carried off, or cut to pieces. But the magnitude of the danger seemed rather to stimulate than repress his courage; and besides, it was the only practicable means of obtaining his end.

He marched forthwith at the head of his regiment, and took the same route that one of the columns had taken. He advanced with great apparent negligence and security. The regiment had neither vanguard nor patrols; it was distributed into squadrons, and each squadron into unequal divisions. Express orders were given neither to draw their sabres nor fire before they heard the word of command. A few straggling hussars, who were natives of Hungary, preceded the rest, and in the language of their own country carelessly saluted the posts established at the entrance of villages or along the high-road. The others quietly followed without betraying any signs

of

of mistrust or apprehension. A regiment of dragoons observed them file along without entertaining the least suspicion concerning them; and, persuaded that they were all returning together from the expedition of Neustadt, they followed the same direction which they remarked the hussars had taken.

Between the hours of two and three Zieten found himself in the middle of the camp. The sky was clear and the whole country appeared covered with red-mantles on account of the great number of Croats that were straggling in various directions in those quarters. In order to keep the highway it was necessary to cross a mountain. In the plain, on the left, lay Leobschutz; on the right, several lakes, and a wood which swarmed with Croats. At the top of the mountain the whole camp lay fully exposed to view, and the most trifling operations therein were easily to be observed. The further the squadrons advanced the more particularly they were ordered to keep close together the better to force their way in case they should be dis-

covered. Hitherto, however, they had not been suspected. The colonel of the regiment which followed them, deceived like every one else by appearances, pushed forward his horse to salute the general and inform him that his dragoons were close behind. Zieten, without giving him any answer, was under the necessity of making him a prisoner of war. Overwhelmed with astonishment he could hardly persuade himself of his error, and unable to make his escape although in the midst of his own camp, he was obliged to accompany the Prussians on their adventurous march.

Zieten still advanced in the most tranquil manner. His route lay parallel to the enemy's camp and within a thousand paces distant from it. The Croats passed by his regiment in all directions without discovering what they were. The dragoons, however, suddenly wheeling to the left for the purpose of gaining the camp, and Zieten still continuing his march forwards, the double movement betrayed the designs of the latter. A

post

post endeavoured to check his further progress and were quickly overcome and dispersed. The alarm spread over the camp; and "Zieten! The Prussians!" re-echoed on all sides. Zieten availed himself of the sudden confusion into which the army was thrown, and, making the best of his way, gained considerable ground. In the mean while the whole camp flew to arms. The dragoons with some other regiments of cavalry that had not yet unsaddled their horses set off in pursuit of the Prussians, and the infantry made ready to follow them.

Zieten continued to gain ground upon them, still skirmishing, and never quitting the highway. At length finding that several regiments had arrived he turned to the left to gain a swampy meadow in order to cover one of his flanks, while the other remained exposed to the enemy's fire. One of his best officers * ** was

* Colonel de Billerbeck.

was wounded. The regiment still advanced, and even made several prisoners.

One of these prisoners was snatched from imminent destruction and set free by Zieten. It was one of his old comrades in the campaign of the Rhine. Struggling on the ground and trampled upon by the horses, his death seemed inevitable; but Zieten at this instant passing by, was recognised by him, and the officer calling him by his name, implored his assistance. The general recollected him immediately and ordered a hussar to extricate and set him at liberty, and likewise to protect his escape.

Further difficulties were yet in store for Zieten. A considerable body of hussars were encamped on the heights of Peterwitz, between Leobschutz and Jägerndorf. He might have continued his march without being perceived by them, and they lay too far off to be at all formidable to him; but the inconsiderate ardour of a regiment of cuirassiers belonging to the margrave's division had nearly

ly ruined the whole enterprise. On the news of his approach, this regiment, with a view of facilitating his junction, marched between him and the Austrians, gave the alarm to the latter, and sustained their attack in spite of the superiority of their numbers. Being quickly repulsed and driven upon the regiment of Zieten, they involved them a while in their hasty retreat. The brave hussars were, however, too far spent to be able to keep pace with them, and remaining at some distance behind they alone supported the assault of the enemy; and, still fighting as they went on, they made their way sword in hand through them, and at length arrived at Jägerndorf with a loss not at all proportioned to the dangers they had encountered.

They were received with all the joy and admiration due to their courage and good fortune. Their entry was a triumph. The margrave, whose embarrassments had been daily increasing, saw himself suddenly relieved from suspense, and could not sufficiently express his thanks to Zieten for the service he had done him

him in having made him acquainted with the king's orders. The whole corps participated his gratitude, and were eager to testify it in the most cordial and feeling manner. Zieten has always spoken of this reception with proper sensibility, and of the expedition itself with that keen and honest exultation which the success that crowned it inspired, and with the flattering consciousness of having eluded the most renowned of the Austrian partisans, and foiled the Esterhazes, the Festeretz, the Splenys, the Corolys, the Ghilanys; all of whom had taken part in opposing his memorable march.

The moment the margrave had been apprized of the king's intentions, he took his measures in consequence; and having broken up his camp, he began that brilliant and victorious retreat which has rendered his name so celebrated. His division marched in the following order. The hussars of Brunikowski, Rochow's regiment of cuirassiers, and Bock's infantry composed the vanguard. Four hundred waggons laden with flour, the baggage, with the main

main body of the army, followed; and the cuirassiers of Gessler, the dragoons of Wurtemberg, and the hussars of Zieten brought up the rear.

The Austrians, who had anticipated the margrave's march had taken every precaution in their power to impede it. They had erected a battery in the neighbourhood of Jägerndorf, and the heights of Peterwitz were planted with several pieces of cannon. Their principal force lay concentrated on the Hullberg, and consisted of a strong detachment of infantry supported by thirty-two pieces of ordnance. Further on, at a village called Brelsch, were posted a body of Croats together with a formidable artillery. They were covered by the dragoons of Saxa-Gotha; and from the Hullberg to the causeway that leads to Neustadt, the rest of the cavalry, with the hussars of Festelitz, Kalnocky, and Spleny were stationed along the route which the Prussians had to take. The infantry remained on the left upon the heights which extended from Peterwitz to Mokker.

Scarce

Scarce had the margrave passed through the gates of Jägerndorf than the report of two cannons was heard from the Hullberg, and the signal was repeated on the heights of Peterwitz. The fire of the batteries and small arms now began. The Prussians returned it in a slight manner, and still continued their march. Their advanced-guard, being arrived at the foot of the Hullberg, received orders to halt and engage the enemy while the baggage filed behind the line. The Austrians now redoubled their fire, and did more mischief to the baggage than to the troops who escorted it. The latter forced to remain in a state of inactivity, burned with impatience to fall upon the enemy. The commander of the regiment of Bork * twice sent an aide-de-camp to the margrave to ask permission to make an attack on the mountain. He undertook to carry it by storm with his own regiment only, with support in case of need, and to be answerable for the consequences. The margrave applauded his courage, but each time

* Colonel de Gravenitz.

time replied, that the king's orders enjoined measures conducive to the general safety of the troops, and positively forbad all avoidable encounters.

While the vanguard and the centre of the enemy advanced in a parallel line with the waggons along the foot of the Hullberg, a train of artillery, and part of the baggage, suddenly found themselves impeded in their passage through a defile, and were besides unprovided with a sufficient escort. The enemy perceiving this, immediately took advantage of it. They poured down the Hullberg in great force in order to disperse the rear-guard and carry off all that came in their way. Zieten and Schwerin, however, checked them in time and prevented the execution of their purpose.

The enemy had their infantry in the centre and their cavalry were posted in the two wings. General de Schwerin, who commanded the dragoons of Wurtemberg, began the attack, and having charged the regiment of Ghilany, broke their ranks and took two standards.

dards. He then met with the regiment of Esterhazy, and having sustained their fire, fell upon them sword in hand. In the mean while the Austrians had nearly flanked him; and Zieten who had anticipated this movement came up, and charging them both in flank and rear, threw them into a general disorder, dispersed them, and did Schwerin this important service at the very moment in which his regiment was beginning to fall back. While he was engaging the dragoons, the Austrian hussars attempted to turn him. He, however, kept them off with a division of his hussars, and was quickly supported by the cuirassiers of Gesslar; and the enemy being now repulsed on all sides, were compelled to resume their former position, and give up all further attempts upon the baggage. The rest of the troops destined to harass the march of the Prussians having observed the unfavourable issue of the engagement, took shelter in the utmost disorder in the neighbouring forests.

In this manner did the bravery of the soldiers and the ability of their commanders rescue

cue the artillery and baggage without any assistance on the part of the infantry, whom the margrave had ordered to halt; for, scarcely had he observed and admired the stand his rear-guard had made, than without stopping and exposing his troops agreeably to the king's orders, he resumed his march, and consigned the task of covering it and following him to the hussars. The troops moreover were not further harassed during the rest of the march, as the enemy thought fit to continue aloof.

Besides the two standards taken from the Austrians, they lost in this encounter fourteen hundred men. From the report their prisoners made, the regiments of Ghilany, Esterhazy and Saxa-Gotha had principally suffered. The loss on the part of the Prussians was proportionably great; and the day cost Zieten a considerable number of his hussars and three of his officers.

As soon as the margrave had made his way through the enemy, he gave information thereof

of to the king, and the junction took place on the 28th of May at Frankenstein. The more difficult this operation had been considered by his majesty, the more agreeable was the impression which the success of it made upon him. He received the margrave in triumph, and decorated with the order of military merit all the staff-officers of the regiments of Zieten and Wurtemberg, and even the captains of the latter corps.

It will be naturally asked, why Zieten's captains were not allowed to share the like distinction. The regiment had not only courageously supported that of Wurtemberg in the attack at the foot of the Hullberg, but had besides in their march to Jägerndorf acquitted themselves of an important commission and encountered the most imminent dangers. We must therefore conclude, that the modesty of Zieten had prevented his displaying the expedition in its proper point of view, and that the king had been very inaccurately informed of the detail. However that may be, general de Schwerin was more fortunate. His sove-

reign

reign was lavish in the praises and favours he bestowed upon him; and likewise assured him in his answer to an acknowledgement of thanks which the general had made, that whatever he or his family might hereafter have to request of him, nothing more would be necessary than to shew the letter in order to obtain every thing that equity would allow him to grant. An occasion soon presented itself. The general's daughter had placed her fortune in the hands of one of the principal manufacturers of Berlin, who failed. She stated her case to the king, and though he himself had heavy claims upon the bankrupt's effects for sums he had advanced for the encouragement of the manufactory, he ordered the first payments to be made to this lady, who in consequence recovered all her capital.

After the junction of the margrave with the king, the whole army were eager to measure with the Austrians, and Frederick, who was desirous of giving them battle, soon turned this ardour to advantage.

Every

Every thing was now ready for the purpose of striking a great blow. As soon as the Austrians, with the Saxons, their allies, had entered Silesia by the way of Landshut, the king broke up his camp at Frankenstein, formed it on the 29th of May at Reichenbach, and passing through Schweidnitz on the 1st of July, he distributed his army in different encampments, which extended as far as Jauernick. The enemy advanced to Gross-Hennersdorf, and fell into the snare that had been laid for them. The king marched to meet them on the 2nd of June as far as the brook of Strigaw, and beat them on the 4th at Hohen-Friedberg.

Hitherto Zieten had not been engaged in any pitched battle; he had rendered himself illustrious by mere desultory war. At Mollwitz he had guarded the baggage, and in the present engagement we find him at the head of a corps of reserve consisting of twenty squadrons. He was stationed behind the centre of the second line to be ready as occasion might call for his assistance.

A particular description of the battle would be superfluous: the reader whom such detail interests is referred to the account which the great commander who gained the day has given in his posthumous works, and which he will find to be admirably well drawn up. A general sketch of it will, however, be sufficient to shew the active part that Zieten had therein.

It is well known that the king had taken his measures in such manner as to approach the enemy without their having been at all aware of his march. The first act of this murderous tragedy was opened by general Dumoulin in the defeat of the Saxons. He surprised them as they were attempting to take possession of Strigaw, and obtained an easy victory. During the engagement the prince of Lorrain drew out his army in order of battle. The Prussians, who had been beforehand with him, attacked and repulsed his left wing. To render the victory complete, nothing further was necessary than to repulse the right. The king gave proper orders for such

such purpose; and while his right wing was to attack it in front, his left, which had no enemy to encounter, was ordered to fall upon the left flank and rear of the Austrians; his right wing, however, was entangled in the woods and marshes of Rohnstock and did not extricate itself till late. During this time the cavalry on the left wing, under the command of general de Nassau, had met with a disaster which might have changed the event of the battle. Scarce had general de Kiow passed the Strigaw with the first ten squadrons of his brigade, when the bridge broke down. His object had been to attack the Austrian cavalry who were drawn up directly before him; and, nothwithstanding this accident, he still persisted in his purpose, and nearly fell a victim to it. Already the enemy had hemmed him in; and after having taken or dispersed his troops, they would have fallen upon the left wing in the defenseless condition in which it would then have lain. But Zieten applied a prompt remedy to the evil and checked the danger in its birth. He had calculated the accident of the bridge as a possible event; and judg-

judging that manner of passing the Strigaw as not sufficiently effective, he had tried the depth of the stream itself. This precaution rescued Kiow, and perhaps saved the army. He forded the brook with his corps of reserve, fell upon the enemy, broke their ranks, delivered Kiow, and afforded general de Nassau time to follow with the rest of the cavalry and to complete the rout. *

When the right wing had got clear of the woods and marshes and were ready to attack the enemy, the left wing had already gained considerable ground. Victory had decided in favour of the Prussians, and the well-concerted plan of their monarch had succeeded even beyond his expectations.

The hussars of Zieten were principally engaged with the cuirassiers of Hohen-Embs and

* The king in "the History of my own Times" briefly observes, that general de Zieten joined Kiow with the reserve, overcame all that opposed him, and afforded M. de Nassau, who commanded the left, time to ford his troops over the Strigaw.

and the dragoons of Saxa-Gotha. They killed great numbers and gathered new laurels. A private trooper, the same who had given proof of his intrepidity at Tein, and on all occasions had been the first to brave danger, took general de Berlichengen on this day prisoner.

The fact indeed would not be of importance enough to be mentioned had it not been attended with circumstances which render it interesting, as they are at the same time characteristic of the Austrian general, of the hussars of Zieten, and of the great Frederick.

Berlichengen, who had commanded the right wing of the cavalry in the battle of Mollwitz, and who on that famous day had gained considerable advantages over the Prussian cavalry, had no idea of the perfection to which they had attained in so short an interval as had elapsed since that time. He not only misjudged those new adepts in the art of war, but what principally struck and irritated him, was to see the hussars, whose very name was unknown to him at Mollwitz, now become for-

formidable to his cavalry of the line. Instead of applauding, as Baronay had done, the progress they had made in their profession, he had recourse to invectives, and during the engagement expressed himself in so unbecoming a manner, that the hussar, of whom mention has just been made, was unable to contain his honest indignation. He rushed upon him, and the stroke of his sabre would have cloven the general's head, had he not drawn it back in time at the expense of a slight wound hardly more than skin-deep. His gorgeous wig, however, did not escape with so little hurt; it lay dishonoured in the dust and was trampled upon by the horses. The bald-headed general, mentioning his name, now called out for quarter, and was made prisoner. He still continued his invectives, but the better-mannered hussars, who felt what was due to his rank, refrained from making any reply till they had brought him into the presence of the king. They then made bitter complaint against him and solicited redress. The king severely reproved the general, and made him feel that it became the vanquished to honour

the bravery of their conquerors. At the same time he dismissed the hussars in these terms; "Make yourselves easy, my friends; you are "brave men and have done your duty. I am "highly satisfied with your conduct; continue "always to act in such manner."

The Austrians retreated through Hohen-Friedberg, and the Saxons by the way of Seifersdorf. The one and the other had suffered great loss in their killed, wounded, and prisoners; in their artillery, and trophies. The Prussians followed them as far as the heights of Kauder, where the former halted for the purpose of resting themselves a while after the incessant fatigues of the day. The next morning Dumoulin and Zieten were detached in pursuit of the fugitives whose rear-guard was composed of the corps of Nadasty and Wallis, who had joined them after the battle in order to cover their retreat. Zieten at the head of his regiment advanced to Reich-Hennersdorf to attack them in front while two regiments of cavalry took them in flank. The main body of the army had gained much ground,

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and the rear-guard only was overtaken. They were driven into the defile of Faulbrück, and lost a great number of men and a considerable part of their baggage. The rest gained Bohemia, and passed the frontiers at Liebaw.

The king had nothing further to apprehend, nor, for the moment, any thing more to wish for. The Austrians had dearly paid for their intrusion. Not only Silesia was evacuated, but the Prussians had entered Bohemia. The prince of Lorrain having formed his camp between Königinngrätz and Pardubitz, the king made choice of his in the same neighbourhood, at Chulmitz, between Rusac and Dewatz. The two camps touched each other and appeared to make but one. Both armies kept this position for the space of three months; — the enemy to repair their losses, the king by way of caution. The victor of Hohen-Friedberg, the conqueror of Silesia, could not be ignorant that the resources of the queen of Hungary were far from being exhausted; faithful, therefore, to his plan of acting on the defensive only, he was satisfied with observing the motions

tions of the enemy and starving a part of Bohemia; and thus circumstanced kept himself in readiness to take advantage of events as they occured.

This interval of repose took place only with regard to the position of the main army. The detail of hostilities, skirmishes, rencounters; in a word, all that relates to desultory war, went on without intermission, and rendered the campaign extremely harassing to the Prussians. The enemy had a great number of light troops at hand, while those of the Prussians were employed either in guarding passes, or keeping in awe a body of Hungarians posted behind Breslaw and Schweidnitz for the purpose of annoying the transports of provisions which set out every fifth day from the latter place for the use of the army. The king himself records this fact. "Each bundle "of straw," says he, "cost a skirmish." * Moratz, Trenck, Nadasty, Franchini were every day

* "History of my own Times."

day out; in a word, it was a school of petty hostilities.

Notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, the Prussian officers neglected no opportunity of harassing them. Their courage indeed not infrequently carried them too far: on one occasion in particular it would have proved fatal to some of them, had not the tutelary genius of Zieten interposed and protected them.

A major of his own regiment, of the name of Rohr with one of his friends, a major * of the dragoons, had formed a plan of no common degree of boldness, consisting in an attempt to carry off a whole regiment of uhlans who were encamped between Königinngrätz and Smirsitz. They had obtained the consent of their respective commanders, who entrusted two hundred horse to each of them for this purpose. Their bravery and talents were well known

* Meyer.

known to Zieten, but he was aware at the same time of the impetuosity of their tempers and dreaded the consequences of it. To prevent or repair any false step they might take he followed them with his regiment, without their privity, and lay in ambush in a wood on the highway to Königinngrätz.

What he had apprehended in fact took place. The two partisans were at first successful; they surprised a body of uhlans, dispersed them, killed some, and took several prisoners. But instead of being satisfied with these advantages, they were eager to gain more, and pursued the fugitives to the very suburbs of Königinngrätz. The step was imprudent in the highest degree: they could not have been ignorant that the town was strongly garrisoned; the garrison flew to arms in an instant, and rushed upon them from all parts. The uhlans resumed their lost courage, and with the rest fell upon this handful of troops, who as they fought on uneven ground and were besides encumbered with the prisoners they had taken, were unable to preserve themselves

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in good order. Thus pressed on every side, the hussars were on the point of betaking themselves to ſlight and trusting their safety to the fleetness of their horses, and the dragoons, not able to accompany them, of being obliged either to surrender or be cut to pieces.

This was the moment that Zieten chose for quitting his ambush. His unexpected appearance equally astonished both parties, uncertain for a moment whether he was a friend or a foe. Their doubts soon subsided; Zieten was recognised, and the mere sight of him struck the Austrians with a pannic, and threw them into disorder. He disengaged the prisoners, took several himself, and not satisfied with having rescued the two majors from the distress in which he found them, he likewise terminated their expedition gloriously. Thus in their persons he acquitted himself of a debt which he had contracted on the banks of the Rhine, when general de Baronay came to his succour as he was entangled in a defile, and rescued him nearly in a similar manner.

Soon

Soon after this expedition the regiment of Zieten was parcelled on into several divisions and stationed in detachments among the various battalions that occupied the frontiers. The general himself with some of his squadrons served in the corps of Dumoulin, who, for the purpose of protecting the transports from Schweidnitz to the army, occupied the posts of Tratenaw and Skalitz. In this interval it was that the king fought the battle of Soor, * and for a second time beat the army of the empress-queen. That title she had just obtained in right of her consort, the grand duke of Tuscany, who was elected emperor of Germany on the 13th of September under the name of Francis the first.

Of this opportunity of signalizing himself Zieten was deprived in spite of his inclination by the calls of duty; but when the king, on the 16th of October, broke up his camp to return of Silesia, he resumed his usual

* On the 30th of September.

al post, and covered the march, which he closed with the corps of general Dumoulin who were harassed by Nadasty and Franchini at the head of ten thousand men. In the course of this march the army being closely pressed in a defile near Schazler, owed their deliverance to the talents and bravery of Zieten, who repulsed the enemy and killed and wounded a considerable number of them. Zieten had only a part of his regiment with him; and as the small number of those who immediately accompanied him are now no more, the particulars of this affair are lost, and all that can be said on the subject must be confined to the few words inserted in the works of the king. "An attack made by a body of "cavalry on the small plain of Schazler cost "the enemy three hundred men; and in this "encounter Zieten lost major de Rohr one of "his best officers, whose life he had, not long "before, saved."

The corps of Dumoulin were employed in forming a line of posts along the frontiers; the rest of the army, as the campaign seemed

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to be over, went into cantonments; and the king being set off for Berlin, they waited only for the separation of that of the Austrians to go into winter-quarters.

The Austrians, however, had no such intentions. They had concerted a plan which, had it been attended with success, must have proved fatal to Prussia. The Saxons, hitherto the mere auxiliaries of Austria, who had carried their arms into Silesia for the purpose of restoring that country to their faithful allies, now threw off the mask, and menacing the hereditary dominions of Frederick, were preparing to act on the defensive. A secret treaty had just been concluded between the courts of Dresden; in consequence of which the imperial troops were to march from Bohemia into Saxony; were to join those of the elector there, and fall unexpectedly on Berlin in the depth of winter, where they would have found the king without troops and the city without defence. It was hoped that this single blow would not only decide the fate of Silesia but likewise of several other Prus-

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sian provinces which the allies had parcelled out beforehand among themselves.

Of this plot Frederick was not apprized before the 8th of November; at a moment in which he had hardly terminated a ruinous campaign, and was extremely embarrassed to raise supplies for the ensuing year. Having, moreover, indisposed almost every power towards him, he found himself so circumstanced as to have no alternative left but either to conquer or perish. He then solely consulted his own genius and his courage, and conceived that bold plan which alone would have rendered his name immortal; a plan whose execution excited the admiration of Europe which waited with extreme impatience for the issue of this winter's campaign.

He gave orders to the prince of Anhalt-Dessau to embody an army in the most private manner on the confines of Saxony. A corps of five thousand men were stationed before the gates of Berlin; — a sufficient precaution, as it was the king's intention to hinder the enemy

enemy from penetrating so far into the country. Frederick rejoined in person the main army in Silesia, and arriving at Legnitz on the 15th of November, he issued the necessary orders for attacking the Saxons both in front and rear, while he himself, at the head of his army, should fall upon the cantonments which the prince of Lorrain had established in Lusatia, and drive him out of Bohemia.

This violent crisis called for a prompt remedy, and so desperate indeed was the general state of affairs, that it was necessary to risk all in order to save all; while Frederick, full of confidence in his own good fortune, was not less sanguine with regard to his invincible Prussians.

The situation of the two armies bore great resemblance to that which preceded the battle of Hohen-Friedberg. The king had recourse to the same stratagems for the purpose of drawing the Austrians into the same snare. He carefully concealed his plan, ordered roads to be made and stores of provisions to be laid

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in on the way; deceived the people of the country, and consequently the enemy, and countenanced an opinion, which had been generally received, that he was preparing to cover Berlin and the electorate of Brandenburg and that he was approaching Crossen in order be beforehand with the prince of Lorrain.

Deluded by these preparations the prince advanced his troops, and the king, whose design was to suffer himself to be overtaken by the imperialists and then to fall upon their rear and force them into action, opposed the prince of Dessau to them, for the more sake of form, on the frontiers of Saxony. But the moment that the cantonments began to break up, he himself followed them; and approaching the river Queiss, he arrived on the 24th of November at Holstein, a strong castle in the principality of Jauer, situated a German mile from Naumberg. The enemy still advanced towards Berlin. Their left wing touched Lauban and their right extended to Görlitz. The Queiss only separated them from the king, whom they, however, imagined to be far distant from

from them. His majesty continued his march on the 23rd in four separate columns, passed the Queiss, during a thick fog, at Naumberg; and appointed, as a place of general rendezvous, the village of Catholic-Hennersdorf in Lusatia with a view of encamping there, and waiting or hastening the impending crisis of events.

The king entered Lusatia without knowing precisely what posts were occupied by the enemy: precautions were therefore necessary, and every column was accordingly preceded by a regiment of hussars, and received orders besides to sustain each other in case of necessity. The two central columns were composed of infantry, the other two of cavalry. The king led the first of the centre, and Zieten, at the head of his regiment, marched in the van.

This column was guided by a miller's servant who misled them into a marshy common grazed by cattle in the summer season but which was always impassible on the approach of winter. This disaster considerably impeded the

the progress of the column. Zieten, however, discovered a road through an extensive forest which led to Hennersdorf, and having taken it and arrived at the skirts of the village, the head of his regiment came in sight of two horse-sentinels, who made a part of the enemy's advanced-guard. The sentinels who observed but a small number of flankers come out of the wood, took them for an inconsiderable patrol only, and did not think it necessary to give the general alarm. Zieten in the mean while was enabled to gain information that the village was occupied by three regiments of Saxon cavalry * and one regiment of infantry. **

The king's column with the heavy artillery were not come out of the marsh, and they were besides too far off to afford Zieten any immediate support. The embarrassement of the general was great, his resolution prompt, and

* The regiments of Dalwitz, Obyern, and Vitzthum.

** The regiment of Saxa-Gotha.

and similar to that he always took on such occasions; which was to attack the enemy rather than allow them to be beforehand with him. In order to give the royal column time to pass the marsh he sent an officer to inform the king, that Hennersdorf was full of troops, and that he would attack and keep them employed till succour arrived. At the same time he divided his regiment into three bodies, put himself at the head of one of them, and ordered the two others to enter the village in the middle; to turn afterwards, one to the right and the other to the left; and to pass along at full speed without giving the enemy's cavalry time to mount and recover from their surprise. Zieten followed these two divisions with the third, and entering the village in the same manner, found the garrison in motion and the regiment of Saxa-Gotha ready to receive him with their artillery. The hostile squadrons were likewise forming on all sides, nor was there a moment to be lost.

Zieten with his division charged the regiment and was received in a cool and resolute man-

manner. He had then recourse to the most adventurous efforts, and those efforts succeeded; the whole regiment were cut to pieces, and all their cannon and standards fell into the hands of the conqueror.

In the mean time the squadrons that composed the two other divisions dispersed themselves over the village to the right and the left and were engaged in continual skirmishing. The hussars of Ruesch * now came to their support, and the enemy had no time allowed them to form into order of battle. Zieten, after the defeat of the regiment of Saxa-Gotha, remained with his division in the centre of the village. This village, which is half a German mile in length, consists of a single street only, at the extremities of which the alarm had hardly yet arrived; and as fast as the hostile squadrons endeavoured to gain the centre, where the principal attack had been carried on, they were charged and dispersed

* Distinguished by the appellation of Black Hussars.

by the hussars of Zieten and Ruesch. After the regiment of Saxa-Gotha, that of Obyern had suffered the most. Either regiment had lost four field-pieces, all their colours and standards, with five kettle-drums, before the arrival of a third regiment of Prussian cavalry and a party of infantry. This reinforcement rendered the victory complete: the village was occupied, the issues guarded, and the two remaining Saxon regiments, with all their officers and standards, fell into the hands of the Prussians.

The entry of the king into Catholic-Hennersdorf crowned this brilliant day. He established his camp there with a satisfaction equal to the magnitude of the advantage to be derived from the situation of the place. Zieten laid the trophies at his majesty's feet, and requested for his own regiment two of the kettle-drums which he had taken. General de Ruesch solicited the like favour for his: they were granted to both, and from that time the two regiments enjoy the privilege of making use of these drums as an accompaniment to their

their military music. The rest of the light cavalry have not any; and every time the regiment of Zieten takes the field the two kettle-drums are deposited with great ceremony in the arsenal of Berlin.

To Zieten the victory of Hennersdorf proved the conclusion of the war and the part he had taken in it. He had the misfortune to be wounded, and for the first time during the several campaigns in which he had served. One of his hussars carelessly firing his piece in the confusion of the battle, the ball went through the calf of the general's leg. This accident obliged him to leave the army for a while and he retired on the 26th of November to Görlitz, a town in the Upper-Lusatia, which on the preceding day had been delivered up to the Prussians by capitulation.

It is not a little extraordinary and surprising that Frederick in his posthumous works speaks in a vague manner only of the service Zieten had rendered him at Hennersdorf.

dorf. * But without examining whether his majesty's memory had been universally faithful in the composition of his history, it will suffice to observe that the exploits of Zieten were not always accurately reported to that prince, and were even sometimes concealed from him. Zieten did not possess the great art of shewing himself to advantage; malice and envy had ever full play against him. We have seen them spare him for a while, and shall erelong find them again exerting themselves, when awakened by the loudness of his renown. As long as his military achievements spoke in his behalf he had been able to overawe his enemies, and to preserve himself in the good graces of his sovereign; but in the calm of peace the cabals that had been formed

* The passage runs thus. "While the troops were filing along the hussars of Zieten reached the village of Catholic-Hennersdorf and gave notice that it contained two battalions and six squadrons of Saxons: they added, that they would keep them employed in order to give the column time to arrive there."

formed against him deprived him of them for a season. We will not, however, anticipate this interesting part of his life, but briefly observe that from the affair of Hennersdorf the general was fully sensible that no means of doing him an ill turn were left untried, and it was perhaps his discontent rather them his wound that detained him at Görlitz, and that, at the arrival of Frederick at that place, had induced him to write to his majesty with a view of counteracting the mischief at its birth, since we find he received the following letter in answer.

"Be assured, my dear major-general de Zieten, it is with great concern that I perceive you have been deluded by false ideas. The tenour of your letter of the 30th implies that I have been prejudiced against your person, or at least your services. I can, however, assert with great truth, that you are mistaken: with regard to both. I esteem you as an officer of merit and am highly satisfied with your faithful and important services. If at different times I have given any particular com-

commission to general de — *; if after having intrusted him with my secret plans, I charged him to communicate my intentions to you as often as circumstances required it, I do not see how I could have given offence, or why I should not be allowed to act in that manner; and the more so, as this never took place but in particular cases, and that you lost nothing thereby either in point of rank or seniority.

I hope this declaration will not only suffice to calm your mind, but that you will perceive therein the proof as well as the assurance of my affection for you.

Görlitz, 3rd December, 1745.

Frederick."

This correspondence and the explanations to which it had led contributed for the moment to the re-establishment of that harmony which had

* The author of the Life of Zieten had her reasons for not naming him. Frederick, who mentions his name in this lettre, tells us it was general de Winterfeld.

had formerly subsisted between the king and Zieten. His majesty had just felt in a forcible manner the obligation he lay under to his general; and the latter, perfectly at ease during the time of his confinement at Görlitz, traced at a distance the progress of his master, and the success of the Prussian arms of which he himself had laid the foundation in the defeat of the Saxons at Hennersdorf.

Thus was the plan of the enemies of Prussia frustrated. The Saxons driven from post to post to the gates of Dresden; — the Austrians repulsed again into Bohemia; — the prince of Anhalt conqueror at Kesseldorf; * — such were the great events that followed these first operations in Lusatia. The torch of discord and war was at length extinguished in the blood of thousands, and on the 25th of December the plenipotentiaries of the empress-queen and the king of Poland signed, in the pre-

* On the 15th of December.

presence of Frederick the Great, the peace of Dresden; a peace equally honourable and conducive to the interests of Prussia.

The less the expectations of Europe had augured such an issue, the more its admiration was fixed on that prince and his army. Five years before this period he had made his first appearance on the great theatre of war, and he now retired from it in the character of a conqueror and perfect adept in the military art. His first efforts even had been master-pieces; his talents were now universally acknowledged and respected; and the army, which his genius had inspired, began to be considered as invincible. The name of a Prussian and a hero were grown synonymous terms; and Silesia now conquered for a second time appeared to be for ever incorporated with the political existence of Prussia.

In this war Zieten acquired new claims to admiration and esteem. He had shewn himself able to cope with the greatest commanders of the age. Uniting wisdom with courage,

rage, contempt of danger with perseverance, dexterity with presence of mind, and activity with the most perfect command of temper; he conceived his plans with the progressiveness of the rising storm and executed them with the rapidity of the thunderbolt. Unruffled in the heat of battle; singularly accurate and concise in giving his orders; foreseeing every thing, prepared for every thing; he was invariably able to turn the circumstances of the moment to advantage. His military glance was correct and infallible; he was equally admirable in attack and defence; capable of the most daring enterprises, and losing every idea of personal safety when his duty called him to engage in them, he never failed to acquit himself with success. In his principles he was firm, and his probity was invincible; he was a zealous patriot, was attached to his sovereign by the indissulable ties of affection and fidelity, and he evinced his loyalty and devotedness to him by the readiest sacrifices; — the sacrifice of every thing except his honour, his principles, his religion and his country. He abhorred all illicit means of enriching

riching himself; he was disinterested and unassuming; ever careless of acquiring the approbation of the great or the admiration of the multitude, he was more desirous to be really good than to appear so. Ready to do justice to the merit of another, he esteemed every one who was recommendable for his conduct and virtues, and openly contemned such as were degraded by their vices. He was prompt to obey the orders of his prince, yet without giving up the right of consulting and availing himself of his own knowledge in the incidental execution of those orders. Incapable of bending under the yoke of fear or servilely cringing to authority, he invariably supported his dignity and character on every occasion. Such had been the general tenour of his conduct during the two Silesian wars, that he was considered as the tutelary genius of the army, whose safety in effect was committed to his care in every march that was undertaken. Were the enemy to be attacked? — his station was in the van. Was it expedient to withdraw from action? — it was he who covered the retreat. He had often

ten repaired the faults of other generals, and never erred himself but in one single instance; and which, as the reader has seen, was owing to the negligence of his patrols. Hence he possessed the esteem of the king and his brother-officers, and acquired an unbounded ascendancy over the troops he commanded; who, fully sensible of his talents and his patriotism, were persuaded he would never lead them to face destruction, but when honour and necessity required it, and when victory would crown the enterprise. His name acquired universal celebrity; he was justly ranked among the most distinguished generals of the Prussian army, and considered as the model of a virtuous hero. The good admired him as the ornament of human nature, and his country, in reward of his merit, decorated him with the title of a true patriot.

To general admiration and esteem were joined sentiments of a more tender kind and more congenial to his nature; — the affection and confidence of his brother-officers and hussars. In the midst of the tumults of war he had

had ever preserved those social virtues which had marked the early period of his life. Guided and sustained by rational piety, his moral character still shone with undiminished lustre, while his talents, his faculties, his religious principles, still acquired new force as he advanced in his brilliant career. The pernicious maxim, the maxim of his day, that the duty of a soldier, supersceded that of a man, was never adopted by him. The horrors of war to which he had been inured never steeled his heart to the softer calls of humanity; and such feelings he considered nor only as far from degrading his profession, but even as one of its most noble appendages. Severe in the field and inexorable in whatever regarded the duties of the military life, (because he himself was the first to set the example, and had no errors nor neglect on his own part to call for indulgence in favour of such as were guilty of either,) he was in all other respects remarkable for the gentleness and even the complaisantness of his manners. He was ever ready to accommodate those whom he commanded, to the utmost of his

his power, or to lighten with a kind word, a look, a smile, the burdens they had indispensably to sustain. His officers, his private soldiers whom he loved with paternal affection, never solicited his counsel, his interposition, his succour, in vain. Just and impartial in the extreme, he tolerated no oppression, no persecution; and though exact in the infliction of punishments, he was still more so in recompensing every noble, every liberal action.

He had always acted with feeling and equity towards the hostile nations during the various incursions he had made among them. The laws of war never induced him to overlook the sacred rights of man. Far from countenancing any kind of exactions, he was the friend, the protector, the father of the unfortunate inhabitants of the places which became the immediate seat of war. Whenever he received orders to pillage an hostile country on leaving it, his custom was to observe the mere form only; he would cause a few windows to be broken, throw down a few stoves, displace or overturn the furniture of a house or

two

two; but was never known to deprive the inhabitant of what was absolutely necessary to him, or to commit a single act of barbarity. The soldier loved him still more than he feared him. In every place his preservation was the object of universal concern. Not only his own country but the nations who had known him as their enemy only, did ample justice to his disinterestedness and greatness of mind.

The candid reader will pardon the foregoing effusion of tenderness and esteem, and will not consider it either as exaggeration or flattery, but allow the panegyric of virtue to be uttered by the voice of truth. Of all that has been said he will find the testimonies in the breasts of the admirers of Zieten, and he will find them in the pages that precede this portrait. Whoever admits the facts cannot disapprove of the elogium, which is but the natural consequence of the other.

It may not be amiss to insert here an anecdote or two relative to the life of Zieten, which cannot be introduced in their exact order

der for want of due information as to the times and places that gave them birth; and which, as they serve to characterize the man and the hero, are worth preserving.

A Prussian general had a dangerous defile to pass. On the right rose a steep hill, on the left lay a marsh, and at the end a bridge, the sole outlet. From the hill, which the enemy had occupied, they harassed the troops, whom the general with a view of saving the baggage (part of which belonged to himself) had left in a defenceless condition. Their ranks were soon broken, and they were hurried in great disorder towards the bridge.

Zieten, who followed with the rear-guard, perceiving the confusion they were in, flew to the spot, where he found the cannon abandoned, the horses killed, the artillery-men without ammunition and on the point of surrendering. The distressed soldiers complained loudly to him of the conduct of their general, and Zieten, without making any reply, betook himself to repair his fault. Supported

by the galant Barlow, * who had just collected a small party of infantry, he attacked the enemy, dislodged them from the heights, took possession of the bridge at the moment in which they were going to occupy it; and having taken from the baggage-waggons which had been driven into the marsh as many horses as were necessary to draw the artillery, he was enabled to rescue the whole corps.

The general who had so ill performed his task obtained nevertheless all the honours of the expedition. The king publicly congratulated him on his having extricated himself in so able a manner, while Zieten and Barlow remained tacitly satisfied with the service they had rendered him without making the least display of the parts they had acted. From Zieten his friends have never been able to learn either the place in which this event had happened, or the name of the general who

* Afterwards general of infantry, and one of the greatest ornaments of the Prussian army.

who had commanded the retreat in so unskilful a manner. It was only in the latter years of his life that this respectable old man made mention of the affair merely to do justice to the memory of his brother-officer.

The foregoing anecdote exhibits in the most amiable point of view the unassuming character of Zieten, and with what delicacy he acted with respect to the reputation of others. The following one will furnish an example of the good order and love of justice that directed all his actions.

In his colonel-squadron was an hussar whose bravery and intelligence had so far gained his esteem that he was desirous to advance him and to make his fortune. Before he named him to the rank of a subaltern he wished to be convinced of his probity; and one day when the hussar had returned from a foraging party, Zieten making up to him ordered him to alight, and after having examined his load, discovered two geese concealed in a bundle of straw. The general thereupon not only tes-

tified his disapprobation of such conduct in the most severe terms, but could not refrain from making him sensible of what he had lost on the occasion. "You were on the point of "being made a subaltern," said he, "and you "shall now remain a common soldier." The hussar, in effect, was not advanced till a year after.

Peace being concluded the army returned to their respective garrisons. The king, who had been no stranger to the little negligences and abuses which during the war had crept in among the troops, was extremely solicitous to remedy them and to re-establish due discipline and order. The letter which his majesty wrote to Zieten is the more worthy of the reader's notice as it shows what obligation he considered himself under to his troops, and the justice which he was pleased to do them.

"My dear major-general de Zieten.

The war is now at an end, and I take this opportunity of declaring to my brave officers that during its continuance I had reason to be perfectly satisfied with their conduct. They have

have done their duty on every occasion, and crowned the Prussian name with immortal glory. On my own part I shall neglect no opportunity of giving them proofs of my satisfaction. I am moreover fully persuaded that the staff-officers and all the officers in general will do their utmost to preserve that good order and military discipline which have hitherto contributed to render the army invincible, and that they will restore them wherever they might have been relaxed. For this purpose I recommend to you, as well as to your staff and other officers, to peruse with attention, and diligently to observe, all my military ordinances and regulations.

Potsdam, Jan. 1st 1746. Frederick."

Attentive to the commands of his sovereign, Zieten strove to restore that order in his regiment which a camp-life had interrupted, and to establish that uniformity of action, that salutary restraint, that scrupulous exactness which during their residence in garrison prepares the troops for the more important duties of the campaign.

Unhap-

Unhappily a fit of sickness, with which he was attacked in the year 1746, interrupted the progress of what he had successfully begun. His constitution, as the reader has seen, was much impaired when he took the field; yet while the war lasted he had as it were no time to be indisposed, nor even to pay any attention to the state of his health. Disdaining at an early period of life the far-fetched cares and attentions which effeminacy bestows on the body, he had rendered himself independent of physical evils by subjecting it to the control of his mind. Yet before he could have attained this end, and inured himself to sickness as well as to fatigue, he must doubtless have frequently endangered both his health and his life; but experience has evinced the goodness of his method, as it succeeded in invigorating the one and in prolonging the other. He was not, however, so far insensible to self-preservation as to lose all concern about it, and to abandon himself up to the course of nature only; especially when medicinal aid seemed to promise him relief and did not interrupt the duties of his profession.

sion. Yet common remedies disgusted him; and after having fruitlessly tried the Hot baths of Hirschberg in Silesia, * he abandoned the regular practitioners of physic and put himself under the care of empirics. He had in particular recourse to Doctor Oehm of Dresden whom he continued to commend to the latest hour of his life. Without enjoying a perfect state of health, and ever subjecting himself to the most severe regimen, the particulars of which we shall hereafter touch upon, he nevertheless attributed to the secrets of the above physician the merit of having relieved him, as well as having enabled him to grow old.

The pleasing dreams of his youth were at length on the point of being realized: his favourite plan of embellishing his estate and re-building his family seat at Wustrau was shortly to be put into execution. He had now sufficient leisure for the undertaking, though

* In the spring of 1746.

though his pecuniary resourses were very inadequate to it. Although he had been engaged in two wars, during which he might have enriched himself; although the munificence of the king had considerably increased his income, yet the amount of his savings at this period did not exceed the sum of eight hundred dollars. With this small fund, and with all the inconsiderate ardour of a young man, he laid the foundation of a building on a scale that required at least thirty thousand dollars to complete; — a sum which exceeded the value of his whole estate. The king, indeed, who much approved of the undertaking, contributed to promote it, by furnishing the timber and limestone. The other expenses quickly consumed his ready money, as Zieten seemed to be building for eternity; for so solid was the construction of his house, that at the present day, after a lapse of half a century, it remains in the most perfect state of preservation.

Zieten had soon recourse to the usual methods of raising money, and procured the sums

sums necessary for his purpose without the privity of his lady, whom, it must be observed, he had not even consulted upon the plan and estimate of the edifice. He left the care of his farm and his family concerns intirely to her, and took upon himself exclusively the management of his buildings. This was, it must be owned, putting the complaisance of the most rational and sensible of women to too severe a test; nor can it be conceived how he could flatter himself that she could at all acquiesce in the security in which he fondly indulged himself, since his bad state of health must naturally create incessant apprehensions on her part for his life. Nor could Mad. de Zieten reflect with indifference on the various sums which the building was continually absorbing, as she looked upon that business in a point of view far different from that in which her husband chose to consider it. Zieten on his part cherished the agreeable hope of enjoying this fine edifice for a length of years, of not only clearing away the encumbrances he had made himself subject to, but of making further purchases and aggrandizing his Wustrau estate; while

while his lady, with all apparent propriety, gave way to the dread of being involved, with two helpless orphans, in inextricable embarrassments and left without any other inheritance than a huge mass of stones.

A prey to such alarming reflections, and not always able to disguise the uneasiness of her mind, she ventured from time to time to remonstrate gently with her husband; but all attempt were vain: he either made no reply to them or answered them very laconically and not altogether in the most courteous manner. One day in particular when his lady had just perceived that new loans were to be raised to carry on a building into which she was not allowed to have the least insight, she informed him in a note, that she trembled for him, for herself, and for the future. By way of answer he sent her back the note after having first written at the bottom of it the following words, *Les choux étoient bons.* *

This

* An old proverb, in other words, *Brisons là-dessus*, used in order to put an end to an argument not considered deserving of serious confutation.

This apparent harshness is in a great degree explained by the natural firmness of his character, which never allowed him to give up a measure he had once adopted, nor to listen to advice after he had once taken his resolution. To yield to his wife in a matter which solely regarded himself, was, in his estimation, unpardonable weakness; it was not, he thought, her business to take any part in such concerns, nor to encroach at all on his province. Though inflexible on this point, he shewed himself in all other respects to be the most delicate and complaisant of husbands, and never ceased to give her abundant proofs of his attachment and esteem.

Nothing in fact was more foreign to the natural turn of mind of our hero than the eager, the unremitting assiduity with which he carried on his building. It afforded a striking exception to his general rule of conduct. His own affairs, as the reader already knows, could scarcely ever command any share of his attention: yet when the public service called for his exertions, every thing in that line became

came a matter of importance to him. He examined, he arranged, he saw with his own eyes, and never suffered another to do what he could do himself. With regard to his domestic concerns he acquitted himself in a very different manner: instead of entering at all into the detail of them, he was always glad to throw the burden upon others, in whom the slight notice which he bestowed on whatever interested merely himself induced him to place to most unreserved confidence. But his building lay too near his heart to allow him to act with his accustomed indifference: it was in fact his ruling passion and absorbed all his attention and cares; he had formed the plan, he presided at its execution, entered into the minutest detail, and displayed a knowledge of architecture which he was little supposed to possess, and which excited the admiration of all who knew him. Yet the bent of his noble and disinterested disposition continued to appear through all these disguises; he always paid for the materials without cheapening them, and discharged all his workmen's bills without making the least defalcation.

Wustrau,

Wustrau, however, did not wholly engross either the time or attention of Zieten, who giving the preference to his regiment, consecrated solely his leisure moments to his private concerns. Conformable to this rule of conduct it was his custom to set off for his villa every saturday evening, and, after passing the sunday there, to return in the night in order to be at Berlin early on monday morning. These journeys indeed were not mere parties of pleasure; on the contrary, he had often the mortification to discover that his building was but little advanced or ill executed; and too frequently he found it necessary to undo the labour of a whole week. Happily these disasters had no influence either upon his temper or perseverance: he bore them with patience, caused the work to be corrected, and exhorted the builders not to fall into the like errors again. Moreover, if notwithstanding his weak state of health, he made choice of the night for travelling, it was merely for the purpose of gaining time, which he was always more desirous to take from his hours of rest than from those which were due to the care of his regiment.

In

In one of these nocturnal journeys, having occasion for a little repose, he stopped at a village half-way on the road and asked for a bed. He laid himself down in his clothes, and stretching out his legs, he felt something moving at his feet and wrapping itself round them. He imagined it to be a serpent: any other person indeed would have sprung from the bed and endeavoured to get rid of the supposed reptile; but being much fatigued, and at the same time quite unalarmed, he left it in possession of its post, and, drawing up his feet, fell fast asleep. When he awoke in the morning he had forgotten the circumstance; but the landlord having asked if he had slept well, he then recollected it, and observed to him, that there were serpents in his beds, and that he would do well to be more careful in future. The terrified landlord hastened to examine the bed, and found a tame squirrel which belonged to the house, and which had taken refuge there. The danger had been imaginary only: with regard to Zieten, who knew not what it was to be afraid, it had been intirely null.

In

In Berlin his way of life was the same as it had usually been before the war. He found but little satisfaction in company, at play, at entertainments, and even in the amusements of the chase to which he had formerly been so passionately addicted. His wife was his principal intimate: the experience of his youth had contracted his heart, had rendered it cold and suspicious, and taught him to rely on himself alone under every event that could befal him. Friendship, that supreme good of man, seemed to withhold its endearments in order to lavish them with more liberal hand upon him in the latter stage of his life: yet whenever he received company, his guests were highly satisfied with his attentions. He did the honours of his house with peculiar grace, and was remarkable for his politeness to the fair-sex, expecially when they were at all conspicuous for the amiableness of their character. Plenty and taste presided at his board; while, on his own part, he was governed by the strictest rules of moderation and sobriety. He was seldom seen in company out of his own house, and he went to court merely for the

the sake of duty. The further he advanced in life, the fonder he grew of retirement, which he enjoyed unadulterated with lassitude, because it was free from ambition and intrigue.

His cabinet, where he passed those hours which he could spare from his regiment, was amply stored with plans of architecture both military and civil, with maps of all kinds, and with various authors on rural economy: and without losing sight of the glory which still awaited him, he applied his knowledge of country affairs, in the emprovement and embellishment of his estate, to such purpose as to enable him one day to repose under the shades which his own hands had prepared.

His whole regiment was not garrisoned in Berlin: five squadrons thereof were quartered in a part of the dutchy of Mechlenberg-Schwerin, * at that time pledged to the crown of

* The towns of Parchim, Plauen, and Lubs.

of Prussia. The distance of these quarters from Berlin, which was near twenty German miles, proved no small obstacle to the order, the discipline, and the uniformity which would otherwise have prevailed through the whole regiment. Towards the time of the manœuvres the detached battalion always removed to Berlin to prepare themselves under the eye of their commander for the grand review; and this short residence was sufficient to put them upon a par with the rest of the regiment, as far as what related to military exercises. With regard to discipline it was far from being the case, as in the absence of their general they had been under the command of officers who had not universally taken him for their model. It must be indeed confessed that disorders were often committed by the hussars under the sanction of some of their new officers whose courage but too much fomented the pride of their profession without being tempered with that moderation which is one of its best appendages. To the reformation of these abuses Zieten bestowed the most assiduous and unremitting attention, and instead of

ill-timed rigour, had recourse to gentle and deliberate measures: these measures operated insensibly, and were at length crowned with success. He knew the world in general, and particularly that part of it engaged in a military life; and without requiring from every one a like degree of ability and good conduct, he judged according to that measure of both which he knew them to possess; commending what was praiseworthy wherever he found it, and punishing what was amiss as soon as he perceived it to be productive of disorder; ever declaring that he had rather confer favours than inflict punishments, and always recollecting past desert rather than noticing present misdemeanors, provided such indulgence was not derogatory to the laws of honour. In garrison he relaxed much from the severity he usually assumed in the field: he considered his soldiers as his pupils, his children. In time of war it was indeed necessary to have recourse to rigorous and even to formidable measures: the success of battles depended on such mode of conduct. Peace, however, restored indulgence and authorized

gentler

gentler proceedings; and to try what use his troops would make of more liberal treatment, he was fond of softening occasionally the severity of military discipline. Influenced by humanity as well as sound policy, and desirous of stimulating the ambition and honour of the soldier, he always appeared without his cane on the parade and place of exercise. It was to show that he preferred gentle means to severe ones; it was to avoid the consequences of a sudden gust of passion; and, in fine, to give his officers an example of moderation. He attained the wished-for end; he succeeded in conciliating indulgence with punctuality; his regiment, governed by his principles, adopted the spirit of them, and were distinguished by their orderly deportment; and the squadrons who were stationed in Mecklenberg, and who at first were not well received in that country, at length gained the esteem and affection of their several hosts.

Zieten was equally anxious to render his regiment expert in their various exercises, as to establish good discipline among them. The

king after the peace of Dresden had introduced several new evolutions into his cavalry, some of which being applicable to the hussars were adopted with eagerness by their general, and attended with the fullest sucecss. He likewise exercised his men in various feats of address; and besides the usual service of the light troops, he accustomed them to all the manœuvres of those of the line, in order to prepare them for every kind of attack. Moreover by obtaining suitable asylums for such of his troopers as began to fall into the decline of life, he was able to remove them in favour of younger and more active men. Hence his regiment never grew old, and at every review partook with their commander of the gracious approbation of their sovereign, who upon all occasions was ready to afford them the most flattering testimonies of it.

After the review of the year 1746, that monarch made Zieten a present of an uncommon as well as honourable nature, accompanied with the following letter.

"My

"My dear major-general de Zieten.

I have the pleasure to send you a Turkish scimetar, fully persuaded that the present will meet with your approbation, and that it could not be placed in better hands. I am your affectionate king,

Potsdam, 23rd August, 1746.

Frederick."

Soon after this the king embellished the regimentals of his corps. During the life-time of Frederick William, queen Sophia Dorothea, his consort, had made the regiment a present of twelve tiger-skins by way of decoration during the grand review. The king now augmented the number and ornamented them with clasps and chains in the oriental taste. For the commanders of squadrons he added eagle's wings, which were fastened to their caps by a wand topped with a crown; — for the rest of the officers, plumes of heron's feathers. At the present day they are equipped at the general reviews in this showy manner: the spectacle is singularly striking even after the lapse of so many years, and must have been

been much more so when the ornaments were fresh and untarnished. Let the reader present to his imagination for a moment a regiment, that every stroke of the kettle-drum reminded of the day of Hennersdorf, who under the command of their general were entitled to consider themselves as invincible; let him form an idea of the splendid accoutrements of the troopers, the rich trappings of their horses, and consider the majestic effect of the whole, and he must allow that such a spectacle was well adapted to inspire the regiment with courage and the beholders with admiration. Zieten himself, although superior to the false glare that strikes and dazzles the vulgar, enjoyed with a high degree of enthusiasm the triumph of his hussars and the eclat with which the justice of the king had honoured them.

The distinctions which the monarch conferred upon him produced, however, their common effects: they excited envy, they provoked hatred, attended with a spirit of persecution. The same officer whom Zieten, towards the close of the late campaign, had discovered to be

his

his enemy, had now recourse to new machinations, and at length he succeeded in depriving him of the king's confidence, and in placing himself between the general and every avenue to the heart of that prince. He laid the foundation of a series of mortifications and sorrows which continued to torment him during the space of seven years; and acted with the basest ingratitude towards a man to whom he owed his first military reputation and almost all the glory of his subsequent exploits. Zieten, however, was so much master of himself as to be able to suppress his indignation: his character appeared on this occasion in all its dignity, both by the calm manner in which he counteracted the persecution in its earlier stages, and in the manly firmness with which he combatted it when it was afterward inflicted by a superior hand.

An attempt to prejudice Frederick against a general, whose talents and virtue commanded his esteem and affection, appears at first sight hardy and even rash. But the adversary of Zieten was the favourite of the king: his wit had

had captivated the monarch; he was in possession of the royal confidence, and lived with his sovereign on the most intimate footing. Zieten on the contrary never obtruded himself on his master; and instead of profiting by the experience of the past and being ever on his guard, he continued to act with his accustomed frankness and relied solely on the consciousness of his own desert. Unapprehensive of being misunderstood, and too proud to defend himself against the machinations of intrigue and cabal, he facilitated the victory of an enemy who durst not attack him openly, but who in order to ruin him had recourse to indirect measures only.

During the course of the war this dexterous and ambitious man had seized every opportunity of degrading the merit of Zieten and establishing his own upon its ruins. He made use of him and his regiment to acquire the laurels with which he ornamented his own brows. Convinced that our hero, whenever the honour of his country was at stake, was ready to undertake the most daring expeditions,

tions, he took advantage of his ardour and frequently exposed him to imminent danger, while he himself reaped all the glory of the enterprise. Zieten commonly fought at a distance from the king; his more prudent rival generally displayed his prowess in the presence of his master. Zieten was brave without boasting of his Courage: the other, less modest, was fond of assuming that character; and fearing to suffer by the parallel in case he repeatedly made mention of Zieten in his reports to the king, he was more inclined to bring forward the name of any other general who had shared the danger of the day.

He had continued from the conclusion of the war to do him every ill service in his power. At first he merely touched upon trivial irregularities and unimportant negligencies in order to prejudice him in the royal favour. At length he acted more openly and began to insinuate that since Zieten had attained the rank of general he had grown neglectful of his regiment; that he had considered it as a regiment of the line; at another time, that he had

had left his hussars in a state of total inaction; had never exercised his officers in patrol-duty, in the various detail of petty hostilities; that all he had done during the two Silesian wars was merely the effect of chance and good fortune, and in no respect the result of a regular plan of operation. In fine, he endeavoured to make Zieten considered not only as a bad officer, but likewise as a man incapable of forming good ones, and the king at length was led to believe that his general was even unable to make a military disposition agreeably to the common rules of the art.

It is hardly to be conceived how the monarch could have lent a serious ear to such insinuations, and the more so as it depended intirely on himself to be convinced of their futility. He had only to recollect what tasks he had laid before his officers with a view of making trial of their talents, and the manner in which Zieten had acquitted himself on those occasions: * he had only to remember the many

* See pages 113 and 114.

many instances, during the war and under his own eye, in which Zieten had formed his plans of operation with intuitive promptitude, and executed them with the most brilliant success. All his exploits, however, seemed to be now forgotten: deluded in more than one respect, Frederick not only questioned the capacity, but even the zeal of the general, and upbraided him with respect to the latter in very harsh terms. In support of this assertion we have only one of his letters to bring forward, as Zieten, who was averse to record the wrongs he had suffered, destroyed all the others a few years before his death. The letter runs thus.

"My dear major-general de Zieten.

I have just received your report on the subject of Pasch, the hussar, and I confess that what you advance in his behalf is very satisfactory: I likewise approve of your having sentenced major de Vigh to confinement. Yet much still remains to be done; you have not suppressed the disorders which prevail among your officers as well as private soldiers; a circumstance I can only attribute to ill-timed indul-

dulgencies; as, it seems, you give yourself no trouble about any thing, and suffer every one to act as he pleases. Of this your detachment, posted along the frontiers of Saxony, furnish a striking proof: they have not recovered a single deserter; a circumstance of a very uncommon nature, and which can only be the result of radical evils; of negligence, and want of order in those who command and in those who obey. Moreover, with regard to the oath to be taken by the recruits, I cannot account for your not adopting it in your own regiment, unless by supposing you are influenced by motives of self-convenience, and are averse to give your officers a little extra-trouble. I hope, however, that in future you will be less remiss, and thoroughly correct the abuses of your regiment, so that I may still be enabled to subscribe myself your affectionate king,

Potsdam, March 3rd, 1750.

Frederick."

Zieten bore these injurious censures with the fortitude of a hero: he revenged himself upon

upon his adversary by dignified silence only; and to that silence the ignorance of the public with respect to the whole transaction must be ascribed. He was supposed to have no enemies because he did not complain of having any. To the king he still continued submissive and respectful; he loved his sovereign too well to allow himself to give way to the first emotions of resentment, and not to respect even his errors. He still trusted that the monarch would erelong open his eyes, and again receive him into favour. He had besides recourse to measures conducive to such expectations, and among other expedients he carried on a correspondence with his majesty, which he afterwards destroyed with the rest of the papers relative to the subject. At length perceiving that the ill-humour and the prejudices of the king daily encreased, that he loaded his censures with additional harshness, and his procedure with new severities, he grew cool, complained of injustice, ingratitude; and, giving way to his natural pride, began to act without his usual restraint, and on many occasions nearly provoked his own ruin. But

Fred-

Frederick, at the same time indulgent and severe, carressed his general on one hand while he wounded him on the other, and was willing to pardon his inflexibility in consideration of the very merit which he was averse to allow him.

The feelings of Zieten, already worked up to a high pitch, were one day put to a severe trial at the royal table. His adversary had taken measures to expose him to undergo the examination of a scholar; and the king, who was in the secret, turning the conversation upon the late war and the achievements in which Zieten and his regiment had distinguished themselves, desired the general to give him some particulars and explanations relative to the subject. This, it must be observed, was not our hero's favourite topic: he was never fond of enlarging on his own exploits lest he should incur the imputation of vainglory, and besides he already suspected the snare that was laid for him. Observing the eyes of his adversaries fixed upon him and sparkling with malignant joy, he at length

spurned

spurned the idea of reciting his lesson, of coldly analyzing his glory, of spelling his military feats, and bluntly replied in the following terms, "The moment I have reconnoitred the force and position of the enemy, I march against them, attack and beat them."

This laconic answer disconcerted the whole company. The king, however, seemed satisfied with it. He had indeed too much sense to be offended at it; yet it is probable he had not taken its true meaning, which implied, that though Zieten was able to explain, he was determined not to be driven to it; and the reply probably tended to confirm the unfavourable opinion his majesty already entertained of the general's professional abilities.

Though Frederick thus denied him the justice due to his merit, he could not refrain from esteeming, from loving him, and giving him proofs of his affection. Two months after the receipt of the foregoing letter, the king wrote him another which we shall lay before the reader by way of corrective to it.

"My

"My dear major-general de Zieten.

I have just been informed that M. de Kaiser, canon of Gerresheim in the dutchy of Bergue, is dead. His benefice being at my disposal, I confer it upon you as a testimony of my good will, and you have likewise permission to transfer it. I have given the necessary orders to my minister, M. de Dankelmann, and I think it proper to mention two particulars relative to this business: the first is, that the person to whom you transfer the prebend must be of the Roman-catholic persuasion; and the second, that an offer of six hundred dollars has already been made for the benefice which, I must observe, has heretofore been considered worth double that sum. M. de Dankelmann can furnish you with all further particulars, and I remain your affectionate king,

Berlin, May 23rd, 1750.

Frederick."

Circumstanced as he was with the monarch, this present, and particularly the letter which accompanied it and formed so striking a contrast

trast with the preceding one, must have operated in a powerful manner upon the general's feelings.

Soon after this he enjoyed a more brilliant triumph, and which he owed to his address and good fortune. The king, in the year 1750, gave a superb tournament, and Zieten, who, among other general officers, had entered the lists, was one of the competitors who bore away the prize. This circumstance, together with the novelty of the scene in latter times, in which the spirit of chivalry seems to be almost forgotten, may perhaps render a short description of the spectacle interesting to some of our readers: it may at least be considered as an episode, and may form no unpleasing contrast to the recital of war and destruction which is inseparable from the nature of these memoirs.

Opposite to the palace and in the middle of the square called the royal garden, a tilting ground, sixty feet long and forty wide, was laid out; round which an amphitheatre was

erected for the accommodation of the spectators. On either side, and over-against each other, two boxes were constructed, the one for the royal family, and the other for the court. The former, which was hung with crimson velvet, was richly decorated, and displayed the king's cypher upon a pediment supported by two marble columns. Under this box was another, of inferior size, for the princess Amelia, the monarch's sister, who distributed the prizes. Four judges of the lists; marshal Keith; generals counts Haake and Schwerin; and M. d'Arnim, minister of state, were seated on the right and the left of the princess.

The tournament opened at sunset by the light of torches and upwards of thirty thousand lamps. A detachment of the garrison occupied the avenues to the amphitheatre, and a party of lifeguards were stationed near the royal box. The two queens with the princes of the blood and all the court being arrived, the princess Amelia, in all the glare of diamonds and beauty, appeared in her box; and the

the king with the margrave of Bareuth at his side, having seated himself on one of the benches destined for the judges of the lists, the four pageants, of which the spectacle was composed, began their march into the area.

The first, or the *Roman*, was headed by prince Augustus, brother to the king; * M. de Frobehn, the royal equerry, ** opened the procession: he was followed by a kettle-drum and eight trumpets in Roman habits, bearing streamers embroidered with eagles and inscribed with the letters S. P. Q. R.

The prince's equerry followed next. He carried a Roman standard, and preceded four caparisoned horses, led by eight grooms in the habit of slaves.

* Grandfather to his present majesty.

** This is a name of considerable celebrity. In the battle of Fehrbellin M. Frobehn, equerry to the Great Elector, apprehensive that the white horse which that prince rode would attract the attention of the enemy, gave his own in exchange, and was soon after killed by a cannon-ball. The Great Elector ennobled his family.

Eight lictors on horseback, bearing fasces and shields, next made their appearance.

They were followed by eight slaves on foot, marching two and two.

M. de Schwerin, the king's first equerry, performed the office of marshal to the prince. He was dressed in a Roman habit, and bore a truncheon in his hand.

Eight freedmen followed him, two and two, and were distinguished from the slaves by blue satin caps and white plumes.

Two running-footmen.

Four pages, carrying the lance and javelin of the prince.

The prince, in the habit of a Roman consul. He wore on his breast a large eagle wrought in diamonds. On his helmet, which was tipped with an eagle, were represented Romulus and Remus suckled by a wolf. His royal high-

highness was mounted on a stately white horse magnificently caparisoned.

Six knights closed the prince's pageant; the margrave Henry, prince of the blood; lieutenant-colonel duke of Holstein-Beck; major de Chazot; captain de Bredow; lieutenant de Marwitz of the gens-d'armes; and count Leopold de Lamberg.

The dress of the knights was distinguished from that of the prince; it was less brilliant; they wore no eagle on their breasts, and had no consular mantle.

Each knight was attended by a freedman and a slave; the former bore the lance, the latter the javelin.

The colours of the pageant were fire-colour and blue.

The second, or *Carthaginian* pageant, was led by prince Henry, brother to the king, and the march was opened by a kettle-drum, two trum-

trumpets and eight Moorish hautboys. The black satin which composed the dress of the latter afforded no bad imitation of an African's skin; and the pearls, plumes, turbans and necklaces which they wore were exact representations of the costume of their supposed country. They had quivers filled with arrows on their shoulders, and on their bandrols was represented a palm-tree, and at its foot a lion with a horse's head, the symbol of the city of Carthage.

The prince's equerry.

Four horses, led by eight Moors.

Eight Moors on horseback, bearing lances topped with dragons by way of standards.

Fourteen Moors on foot, marching two and two.

Four pages, two of whom bearing the lance and javelin of the prince.

The prince. His royal highness wore a blue turban ornamented with three plumes, and a tiger's skin instead of a mantle.

The

The six knights of the pageant were the reigning prince of Lobkowitz, duke of de Sagan; count de Schafgotsch, commander of the order of Malta, and grand equerry; count Alexander Sulkowsky; count Ahasuerus de Lehndorf, chamberlain to the queen; baron de Wurmster, a captain in the French service; and Mr. Chung, a Scotchman.

Each knight was attended by two Moors, bearing his arms. The colours were blue and silver.

The third, or *Greek* pageant, was led by prince Ferdinand, brother to the king.

A kettle-drum, two trumpets, and eight hautboys on horseback, preceded the march. The predominant colours of their dress were yellow and flesh-colour.

The prince's equerry bore his lance and buckler.

Eight Greek soldiers on horseback with spears and shields.

Six

Six others on foot, wearing helmets, and armed with pikes and targets.

Four pages.

The prince in a flesh-coloured mantle, wearing a silver helmet, and mounted on a stately dun-coloured horse.

Six knights attended him: prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards; the hereditary prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, marshal; prince Frederick of Wurtemberg, colonel of dragoons; ZIETEN; baron de Dankelmann, president of the regency of Minden; baron de Montelieu, chamberlain to the duke of Wurtemberg.

The fourth, or *Persian* pageant, was conducted by the margrave Charles, prince of the blood.

A kettle-drum and two janizaries opened the march. The turbans of the latter were white and gold; which were likewise the colours of the pageant.

The margrave's equerry.

Twelve

Twelve horses, led by as many grooms in Persian dresses.

Eight slaves * and four pages preceded the margrave.

The dress of the prince was Persian; it was composed of green satin lined with ermine, and fastened by diamond clasps. His turban was green; his horse covered with jewels; the whole displayed the magnificence of a Darius.

The six knights who accompanied him were count de Schmettau, minister of state and master of the hunt; M. de Blumenthal, commander of the lifeguards; M. de Krosigk, grand forester; baron de Printzen, privy counsellor; lieutenant de Kalkreuth of the lifeguards; and lieutenant de Brocker of the gens-d'armes. A royal equerry closed the march.

After having filed before the boxes of the king and queens, and saluted them with their lances,

* These were real negroes.

lances, the cavalcade took their places in the lists which the marshal had assigned them, and waited for the signal.

The marshal having fixed the heads, * and closed the gates of the tilting ground, the trumpets proclaimed the first spectacle, and the four leaders of the pageants opened the games.

These games were divided into three distinct operations: the first was to bring down a Turk's head by a stroke of the lance; the second to hit a Medusa's head with a javelin; the third to cut down with the back-stroke of a sword a pasteboard bust raised a foot from the ground.

After the leaders had performed their exercises, the knights followed their example at six different times, and distinguished themselves in feats of emulation and address.

After

* These were made of pasteboard, and served as marks to aim or strike at.

After the exercise of the heads, that of running at the ring took place in the same order: the knights, however, ran but four times as the weather did not continue favourable.

The games being ended, the registers of the judges of the list were compared, and the prizes distributed. They fell to prince Henry of Prussia, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and major-general de Zieten. The four victors alighted from their horses and received them from the hand of princess Amelia, while kittle-drums and trumpets proclaimed the triumph. To each of the princes was presented a diamond ring, and to Zieten a pair of sleeve-buttons. The pageants kept the same order on retiring as they had observed on their entry, and they paraded to the opera-house square. A masked ball, which was honoured with the presence of the king, the queens, and all the court, concluded the amusements of the day. Supper was served at seven tables, the whole night was spent in dancing, and the princes and noblemen who had composed

posed the tournament, wore the dresses of the respective parts they had acted.

By the king's order the spectacle was repeated two days afterwards, and before sunset. Instead of lamps the amphitheatre was hung with garlands and festoons: the order and the pageants were the same. The prizes, which princess Amelia likewise distributed, consisted in military accoutrements. Messieurs de Kalkreuth, de Dankelmann, de Sultowsky, and de Montelieu were the victors. M. de Voltaire, who had been present at both these spectacles, made the following impromptu in honour of the princess.

Jamais ni la Grece ni Rome
N'eut des jeux si brillans, ni de plus dignes prix;
J'ai vu les fils de mars sous les traits de Paris,
Et Venus qui donna la pomme.

The victory which Zieten gained on this occasion, and which he partook with the princes of the blood, shews him to have been as good a knight as an officer, and that his address was equal to his courage. The jewel which attested his prowess was highly valued by

by him, and is still preserved with due veneration in his family.

His triumph, however, created new envy and involved him in new persecutions. His enemies multiplied daily, and the king, still more prone to listen to their insidious representations, took every opportunity to express his dissatisfaction in the most undisguised manner. The regiment shared the disgrace of their commander, and became a standing topic of animadversion with his majesty; and to such a point was this matter carried, that several staff-officers, encouraged by the royal example, took upon themselves the task of censuring our hero's conduct and sullying his reputation. The army in general lamented his case, yet no one ventured to defend him. One day indeed, when the prince of Anhalt undertook to speak a word in his behalf, and reminded the king of the services the general had rendered him and the zeal with which he had acquitted himself, the monarch harshly replied; "It is not for his sake I would go to war "again: in garrison he is not worth a straw."

About

About this time the adversaries of Zieten received a fresh reinforcement in the person of an Austrian colonel of the name of Nadytschzander, a native of Hungary, and who had lately made a tender of his services to the king. His majesty, already prepossessed in favour of that nation, had given him a welcome reception, and had placed him in his own retinue. In this stranger the implacable enemy of Zieten found the man he wanted; a man he could at all times push forward, while he himself remained concealed behind the scene. This new favourite soon began to act a very conspicuous part; he had gained the royal ear by means of a specious military jargon which that prince took for real knowledge of the profession, and he at last made him believe that the hussars were nothing in comparison to what they might become under proper tuition, that they were, in fact, undeserving of the name they bore, and that new reforms were necessary to be substituted in the place of those which Zieten had introduced.

Nadytsch-

Nadytschzander proposed his own, and he began to make his first trial of them upon the regiment of Zieten. The reader may recollect that the king had formerly placed several veteran sergeants in this corps by way of recompensing their services: * and now, at the instigation of the Hungarian, choice was industriously made of the rudest and most ferocious of men for the purpose of converting them into hussars. If the form of these recruits was human, it was considered enough; their ferocity was a kind of recommendation. Whenever a young man was found unfit for any reputable calling, it was usually said of him, en Italie he would make a good hussar, and the words at length became proverbial. The whole country were inclined to look upon this

* In the Prussian infantry and cavalry the commissions of officers are exclusively reserved for the nobles. In the hussars, the artillery, and engineers, such commissions may be obtained without the advantage of birth. Frederick the Great made much of this distinction, which at the same time served as a resource for the nobility and an encouragement to talents and bravery.

this soldiery as a kind of half-barbarians; and indeed, according to the system of Nadytcschzander, they were to be converted into such, to be rendered devoid of all principle, morals and humanity; in a word, to be mere centaurs. On this footing too he was always careful to treat them: "March, blackguards!" he would cry to the officers, as well as to the soldiers, on the parade, at the manœuvres, and every where. This procedure irritated, discouraged, and disorganized the regiment. The officers who were attached to Zieten, justly offended thereat, obeyed the Hungarian with extreme reluctance; the soldiers, who at the famous battle of Hohenfriedberg had retorted the railing of an hostile general, could ill brook that of a commander, dropt as it were among them from the skies. An alarming ferment took place, and murmurings were heard through every rank; the fine order which had been introduced with so much labour, the zeal for the service, the stubborn point of honour; all gave way to universal discontent and remissness. Zieten was overwhelmed with indignation and sorrow at these pro-

proceedings and contemplated the rapid degradation of his regiment without being able to check its progress. At length his patience was exhausted, and he resolved to lend his name no longer to such scandalous innovations, although he was well aware it must expose him to new altercations with the king.

The first that took place on this subject was at Spandaw, in the year 1753. The king had formed a camp of evolutions there for the purpose of trying and practising a series of new manœuvres. Several principal officers of hussars, and particularly such as were of Hungarian extraction, were present at the express desire of his majesty. Nadytschzander played the first part here: he assumed the office of tutoring the regiment of Zieten, of teaching them the very elements of the art of war, and already considered himself as their chief. The general's enemies, as well as the Hungarian stranger, flattered themselves that the Spandaw manœuvres would close his military career and that the king would of course bestow his regiment upon the new favourite.

They knew Zieten and the warmth of his temper, but they were mistaken with regard to the king, whom they thought they equally knew, and who on this occasion shewed himself worthy of the surname that posterity has conferred upon him.

His majesty, some days before he set off for Spandaw, having spoken in a circle of his generals of these manœuvres, desired them to furnish him with some plans of evolution. Zieten kept aloof. He heard with pity the idle vapourings of Nadytschzander and his partisans, and remained without speaking a word. The king was struck at this, and beckoning him nearer, asked him his opinion. Zieten for the first time ventured to disobey his sovereign: he merely observed, that when he should be on the spot he should know what to do; and immediately resumed his silence. The king was obliged to content himself with this short but energetic reply; which, however, contributed not a little to raise the storm that was soon to break over the head of the general and his whole corps.

The

The several regiments marched to the camp of Spandaw, and that of Zieten was one of the first that arrived there. The king was waiting for him on the bridge. His majesty was in a very ill humour that day; and of this the kettle-drumer first experienced the bad effects. "He is good for nothing" said the king, and immediately ordered him away. With him the drums were sent back to Berlin: they had perhaps too strongly reminded his majesty of the glorious day of Hennersdorf and the exploits of Zieten. The king reviewed the regiment, found the whole corps detestable, was pleased to call the hussars country boobies, unlicked bears, and, in short, set no bounds to his complaints and reprehensions. Zieten heard all this with respectful silence: the king, however, at last forgetting himself so far as to have recourse to abusive expressions, the general approached him, and, in the warmth of his resentment, thrust his sword into the scabbard, and exclaimed in a loud tone, "Sire, though we are good for nothing at the present day, yet there was a time in which we did our duty: as long

there was any want of our services, we were, it seems, worth something." "Yes," replied the king, "you were then worth much; but at present, you are become remiss, and good for nothing at all."

No farther altercation at this time took place. Zieten kept silence, but still left his sword in the scabbard: and, without either declaring himself indisposed or making the least apology to the king, he remained a whole fortnight in the camp, observing the different manœuvres as a mere spectator, and without taking the least part in the concerns of his regiment. The king, who saw himself braved, nevertheless shewed no marks of resentment, nor took any measures against the offender: — a circumstance unexampled in the annals of the Prussian army!

In the mean while the regiment had been parceled out into several divisions, and put under the command of various colonels. This circumstance inflamed the officers and the whole

corps

corps with new resentment: they swore to wreak vengeance on their persecutors, who had now begun to consider their triumph as complete, and the ruin of Zieten as inevitable. These persecutors uniting their whole force and exerting all their efforts, at length made a general attack: they broke out in loud complaints against the regiment, accused the troopers of ignorance, and laid the most glaring inperfections to the charge of the whole corps. The king grew confirmed in his prejudices, the favourite rejoiced at these calumnies; which were, moreover, meanly countenanced by several of Zieten's pupils, who were indebted to him for their advancement as well as for their military reputation. Prince Augustus William of Prussia was the only person who openly espoused his cause; the rest of his friends contented themselves with lamenting him in secret.

On his own part he still preserved due presence of mind and shewed an apparent indifference to every thing that occurred. He attended the manœuvres and followed up their pro-

progress, as if he had never served at all in the Prussian army and was now for the first time a looker-on at such kind of spectacles. He was nevertheless secretly at work in behalf of his regiment, and took care occasionally to communicate such instructions to his officers as shortly afterwards enabled them to annihilate all the chimerical projects of Nadytschzander.

Among other evolutions, the king had ordered a grand foraging-party to be executed. General de Winterfeld commanded one division of the enterprise, and the Hungarian colonel the other. The hussars of Zieten were included in either corps. Nadytschzander, who was charged with the attack, had promised to exhibit a master-stroke in the military art. He had ostentatiously undertaken to shew the whole army the manner of surprising and overcoming the enemy: his essay, however, turned out ridiculously abortive. Our partisan, who could neither form nor keep up a military disposition, being wholly unaware of the trap that had been laid for him, fell singly into

into it. Captain de Reizenstein of Zieten's regiment, to whom the general had secretly communicated his intructions, and who was in Winterfeld's division, availed himself of a moment in which Nadytschzander, as he was rambling at some distance from his troops, conceived himself to be in perfect security: he rode up to him, threw his arm about him and pulling him from his horse, made him, prisoner. Scarcely had he performed this feat, when several officers and a party of hussars made their appearance, and observing the distressful plight of the man who had done them so much mischief, they were unable to set bounds to their sarcasms. They treated him, moreover, according to the strictest laws of war; he was surrounded by a detachment of hussars, and obliged to march on foot to the royal tent. Crowds of spectators accompanied him, and he was received with shouts of malicious joy. His inexpertness, his tribulation were loudly censured and laughed at, and the mob at last began to pelt him with dirt and stones.

Thus attended, the hero of the day was presented to the king, at whose hands he fully expected to find both protection and redress: but his majesty was so struck with the oddity of the spectacle that he burst likewise into an immoderate fit of laughter. The crowd who had followed him, finding themselves thus encouraged by the king, continued their taunts in the most provoking manner, and Nadytschzander was on the point of being stoned to death. The monarch, however, in order to rescue and punish him at the same time, accommodated him with one of carriages belonging to his household, which was drawn by six mules; and, at his majesty's special command, the late favourite was drawn in triumph to the head-quarters under the guard of those who had made him prisoner. It is probable that from the opening of the manœuvres the king had ceased to entertain the extravagant opinion he had first conceived of this stranger's abilities. Nor was this the only disaster of the kind that befel him, as the lifeguards, it seems, had played him a similar trick. Every regiment indeed conspired against him,

him and neglected no opportunity in their power of exhibiting his ignorance in the most ridiculous point of view. The king, whose principle it was to avoid falling into any inconsistency of conduct, still countenanced him, but no longer honoured him with his confidence; and some time after this, having discovered that our adventurer had been guilty of various acts of perfidy towards him, he was pleased to confine him in a fortress; and thus ended his short-lived glory!

Though this enemy of Zieten had disappeared, yet the prejudices of the king still continued to operate against the latter. It was indeed remarkable, that during the interval between the second and third Silesian wars, Frederick grew highly dissatisfied with several of his generals, and extended his ill humour even to the margraves and princes of the blood. At the reviews he frequently made them feel the effects of it in such a manner as to induce them to believe he had forgotten their services or was inclined to forget them.

This

This was, in fact, the work of that insidious, ambitious man, who aspired to the exclusive possession of the royal favour, and who had made use of Nadytschzander and such kind of men to obtain his purposes; bringing them forwards and making them act and disappear by turns. We may likewise discover in the peculiarity of his majesty's temper a further reason for the disgrace into which several of his generals at this time fell. Frederick whose aim was perfection itself, required every one about him to acquit himself with equal elevation of mind. He had all that impatience and pretention which is so frequently attendant on genius: his claims were often unjust, often bordering on impossibility; and whenever he found obstacles in his way, he was more ready to blame the agents he had employed, than to reflect upon the difficulty of the task he had imposed on them: the master therefore was as often dissatisfied with his disciples as the disciples were with their master.

Of the number of the latter was Zieten. He had not even endeavoured to conceal his

sentiments; and his enemies considered his ruin as certain. The boldness of his reply to the king; the manner in which he had braved his displeasure when he appeared at the manœuvres in the character of a mere looker-on; the stubborn silence which he opposed to that which the monarch was pleased to observe; — all seemed in their eyes, to pronosticate his inevitable downfal. They were, however, much deceived in their calculation: his majesty thought fit to act merely a passive part in this business. Zieten resumed the command of his regiment at Berlin, and set about reforming the disorders which the interregnum of Nadytschzander had introduced therein. The king indeed at different times afforded him new cause for the exercise of his patience, but no explanations took place between them, nor any thing that looked like rupture or open war. The general followed the plan he had himself laid down. Faithful to his prince, his country, his duty; jealous of his regiment, and of the honour of the profession; feeling, in spite of the reproaches of the king, that gentleness and indulgence were

far

far preferable to rigour, he never lost sight of them, and never caused those who were subordinate to him to share the vexations he himself experienced. He continued to treat them as his children, his friends; and though the victim of ill humour himself, no one had reason to complain of any on his part.

The enemy of Zieten at length despairing of working his ruin, had recourse to other measures, which not a little flattered his own pride. In order to prevail on our hero to humble himself before him, he strove to give him hopes of regaining by his interposition the good graces of the king. But he ill knew the general or he would not have imagined him capable of stooping so low. Was it likely that Zieten could cringe and degrade himself to such a degree? — Zieten, who, impressed with the sense of his own desert and the justice of his cause, could never be induced to yield even to the king himself, and whose becoming pride had hitherto served him as an ægis against all the terrors of a monarch's frown?

Of

Of this noble pride he gave new proof at one of the following reviews. His regiment having received orders to charge, acquitted themselves, in the judgment of the king, in so disorderly a manner, that the monarch, addressing himself to the general, cried out in a tone of the utmost displeasure, "I'll see no "more of this; away!" Scarcely had he uttered these words, when Zieten, who thought fit to take them in their literal sense, left the field at the head of his regiment, and marched directly to Berlin. This movement which appeared a mere much ado about nothing to such as were not in the secret, puzzled and surprised the spectators. The enemy of Zieten who secretly exulted in his humiliation, did every thing in his power to stop him and bring him back, with a view, it may be presumed, of prolonging the illiberal delight this scene afforded him; but all his efforts were to no purpose. The general relying on the first order of the king, paid no attention to the subsequent ones, and even dismissed in a haughty manner the aide-de-camp of his enemy who had been dispatched to recal him.

After

After the review it was customary for people of distinction, whether military or civil, to assemble in the great hall of the palace to pay their devoirs to the king. — Zieten went there with the rest, and in the presence of his sovereign, his enemy, and the whole court, appeared with dignified assurance, and with that serenity of mind which had nothing to reproach itself with respecting the past, and nothing to fear with regard to the future. The king saw him, and remained silent.

Seven years passed away in this manner, during which time the king and Zieten seemed irreconcilable towards each other. Frederick, however, secretly preserved some remains of esteem and good will for his general, whom he must have considered of no small importance to the service or he would not have continued him in it on such conditions. Moreover, prejudiced as he was against the regiment, he still acted with proper justice towards it: the corps were never deprived of any of their rights and privileges, or of their rank in the army. One day a dispute arose between

tween a captain of the gens-d'armes and an officer of the same rank in Zieten's regiment, on the subject of signing their names to a paper. Each claimed the precedence; the one alledging the honour of the regiment, the other his long service: the king decided in favour of the seniority of the commission, and, although irritated against the corps of hussars, gave their officer the preference.

In the year 1755, a great promotion took place, in which Zieten had no share. He had the mortification to see all the major-generals of his own standing, and, among the rest, his inveterate enemy, raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, while he alone remained unadvanced. Of this he ventured to complain to the king, and he received the following answer.

"My dear major-general de Zieten.

I have received your letter of the 14th instant, containing representations and requests relative to your present rank and future advancement, which I am utterly at a loss to understand. You cannot be ignorant, that you pre-

preserve your rank above all the generals of hussars; nor can you either be ignorant that the hussars, having not the same rank as the rest of the army, the advancement of the other generals does no prejudice to you. I therefore hope, you will make yourself easy, and wait with patience for the moment in which I shall think fit to advance you in your turn; and I remain your affectionate king,

Potsdam, June 30th, 1755.

Frederick."

It was in the course of the same year, that one of Zieten's officers rendered the king an essential service, and justified the choice of the monarch, whose prejudices against the regiment did not hinder him from honouring it with his particular confidence whenever his own interest was at stake. The business in question was to save the life of a Prussian officer arrested at Ulm, in the circle of Swabia, for having had recourse to coercive measures in raising recruits. A criminal process was instituted against him in that city, nor could either the repeated remonstrances or threats of

of the court of Berlin procure his enlargement. To extricate him from his perilous situation, it was necessary to employ art and address on one hand, and on the other, force and violence. This delicate commission was given to captain de Seelen of the regiment of Zieten. Every thing was conducted with the greatest secresy, and scarcely did any of the slightest particulars transpire. The fact, equally interesting and unknown, is entitled to a place in these memoirs.

Lieutenant de Heyden of the garrison of Magdeburg, was employed to raise recruits in the imperial city of Ulm for the supply of his own regiment. He had privately enlisted a tall, well-built man to whom he had given thirty florins on account, with a promise of a further sum in the course of three weeks, to be paid at Leipheim upon the frontiers of the territory of Ulm, whither the recruit had engaged himself to repair. The three weeks being expired, the man passed by M. de Heyden's house and informed one of his servants,

who was standing at the door, that he was then going to Leipheim.

M. de Heyden, pleased at this intelligence, immediately ordered post-horses, followed the recruit and overtook him on the road; and having called to him, he held out his hand and assisted him in getting into his carriage, in which he had offered him a seat. The lieutenant had provided himself with a written agreement and the money which remained due to the man. The fellow at first made no resistance, hoping, as it may be supposed, to deceive M. de Heyden as he had many others, but finding himself well watched by the lieutenant and unable to make his escape, he began to cry out to the passengers and implore their assistance. M. de Heyden was then under the necessity of gagging him; and the handkerchief which he used for such purpose probably choked him; for on their arrival on the frontiers, the man was discovered to be dead. M. de Heyden, extremely alarmed and embarrassed at this accident, buried the body

body, with the assistance of the postillion, in a neighbouring forest.

An event of this nature was not likely to remain long concealed. A few days after, a servant-maid, to whom the postillion made love, divulged the whole affair. M. de Heyden was taken into custody by order of the magistrates of Ulm, a criminal prosecution was instituted against him, and though the tribunal could not convict him of intentional murder, he was nevertheless condemned to be hanged.

All the remonstrances made by the court of Berlin on this subject proved of no avail: the magistrates sought to amuse the king with evasive answers, and in the mean while hurried on the process in order to hasten the fatal moment. Nothing now remained to be done but to rescue the prisoner by force, and for this purpose the king desired Zieten to recommend him an able officer, whom he might dispatch to Ulm for the execution of this important business.

On this occasion Zieten shewed himself to possess a thorough knowledge of men. The exterior appearance of captain de Seelen bespoke gentleness, politeness, and equanimity of temper, but was neither expressive of talents nor courage. An eye like Zieten's was necessary to discover such latent qualities; and the king who disapproved the choice, was desirous it should fall upon some other. Zieten, however, persisted in that which he had already made; and although he was aware, that if the business took an unfavourable turn, the blame would fall intirely on himself, he still assured the king that he knew no other officer more likely to succeed in the enterprise than he.

His majesty at last acquiesced in the choice, and M. de Seelen left Berlin, in the autumn, in the most private manner. His lady, whom he loved extremely, was kept ignorant of the journey, as well as its object and duration. He had taken leave of her on pretext of going to Potsdam in consequence of an order he had just received from the king. Mad. de Seelen at length not seeing him return, and discover-

ing

ing that she had been misled by him, gave way to the most excessive grief. She made daily application to Zieten for news of her husband, upbraided him with the cruel separation he had occasioned, and conjured him to restore the lieutenant to his unhappy family. Her affliction strongly excited his compassion, yet he could only console her in general terms: "Your husband is well," he would say; "he has nothing to fear; neither have you." This vague consolation had no effect.

Attended by six hussars in the disguise of domestics, M. de Seelen arrived at Ulm, where he appeared in the regimentals of an officer of dragoons, and assumed the name of Treskow. He lived in a grand style and was considered as a prince travelling incognito. His appearance engaged the public attention and commanded its respect. He made frequent excursions into the neighbouring countries the better to mask his designs, and he took an occasion of informing the Prussian resident that he expected a number of recruits from the lake of Constance and should perhaps be under

under the necessity of applying to him for a sum of money. In the mean while he secretly watched the progress of the suit, which at first appeared to take a more favourable turn, but soon after fell into its former channel.

M. de Seelen, in consequence of this, applied to the king for a letter to the magistrates of Ulm, with leave to deliver it in person. He proposed that a categorical and peremptory answer respecting their intention towards lieutenant de Heyden should be insisted upon, and public satisfaction and damages required proportionable to the injuries he had suffered. In case such letter should prove ineffectual, or did not meet with his majesty's approbation, he requested to be authorized to seize upon one of the principal persons of Ulm, or, should that be impracticable, upon the mayor of Leipheim who was son to one of the first inhabitants of that city, by way of hostage; and, provided he was allowed to strike this blow on the Austrian territory, he undertook to carry off the hostage across the Danube to Tal-

Talfingen, and, by means of concealing his party in the woods during the day time, to gain Erlangen over the mountainous tract of country which lies between Talfingen and that place.

Neither of these plans pleased the king, who thereupon commissioned Zieten to suggest one that might release lieutenant de Heyden without involving the Prussian government in disputes with the neighbouring powers. Zieten's plan was honoured with his majesty's approbation, and instantly forwarded to M. de Seelen. The general in forming it had relied much on the address and intrepidity of his captain: the event shewed his expectations not to have been ill founded; M. de Heyden was rescued in the night that preceded the very day on which he had been condemned to suffer.

The prison in which he was confined was a lofty tower situated on the bank of the Danube. He was kept under the guard of a sergeant, a corporal, and eighteen grenadiers, who

who relieved each other in parties of five; two of whom stood sentinel before his door, one at the top of the stair-case, one at the bottom, and the fifth in the yard under the prisoner's window. At night the latter sentinel quitted his post, and stood at an open window that overlooked the whole court, the avenues to which were carefully made secure. These measures, together with the difficulty of bribing the guards, who were relieved every hour, seemed to render the deliverance of the unfortunate officer extremely improbable, if not impracticable. At length, however, M. de Seelen was able to gain over a lieutenant of the town, a man indeed of shallow capacity, but zealous in the cause he had undertaken, and whose agency we shall find was not unsuccessfully employed. This person was afterwards well received in the Prussian dominions and properly provided for by the king.

Soon after M. de Seelen's arrival at Ulm, he had found means of apprizing his brother-officer of the object of his mission, and had likewise been able to convey to him a bottle of

of aquafortis for the purpose of corroding the bars of his window. He had also procured an impression in wax of the key of the prison, and a locksmith of Nuremburg had made one after that model. His hussars had prepared a ladder of ropes, and a waterman was engaged to remain at hand with a boat ready to receive M. de Heyden and to convey him to a spot where a carriage would be waiting for him. M. de Seelen had likewise made himself acquainted with the ground that immediately surrounded the prison, as well as with the streets and roads which were to be taken in the intended escape.

After having agreed upon the night and the hour, he repaired to the prison. Every thing went on as he could wish. The gate was opened, the ladder fixed, the aquafortis had eat away the bars; but the moment after M. de Heyden had removed them and put his foot upon the ladder, the sentinel at the adjacent window heard a noise, and, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, discovered people in motion in the court. He fired his piece,

piece, and instead of hitting M. de Seelen, the ball went through a window and killed a woman as she lay in her bed.

Before the report had drawn the sentinels together, the two Prussians had made their escape and were arrived on the bank of the Danube. But what must have been their surprise when neither boat nor waterman was to be found! The firing of the gun having spread an alarm, the man had rowed across the river. Happily M. de Seelen preserved his presence of mind, and taking advantage of the general confusion which now prevailed in that quarter, he conveyed the lieutenant in safety to his own house, and by means of a bribe was enabled to lodge him with a poor labourer before break of day.

The magistrates gave immediate orders for the pursuit of the fugitive, and after the most diligent inquiries in the environs of the place and along the highways, they concluded he was still in the city, from whence they were persuaded he would not be able to escape. Every pre-

precaution was now taken to prevent it; the houses were searched, the gates strictly watched; every carriage was examined, and every waggon that went out of the town was unloaded: yet no discovery was made. M. de Seelen had now taken his friend under his own roof, and when he perceived that attempts were made to examine his apartments, he assumed so lofty an air, that the magistrates did not think fit to persist in their intentions.

A trifling incident, however, had nearly betrayed the whole business. In the hurry of escaping from the prison, the party had forgotten to take down the ladder of ropes. A cordmaker of the town having examined it, recognised the materials, and recollected that he had sold them to the servants of the foreign gentleman. He made his report accordingly; but the foresight of M. de Seelen had already averted the blow, by sending away such of his attendants as had been at all concerned in the enterprise, and by taking occasion to complain in different companies that

that some of his domestics had deserted him. Nothing farther transpired, and every suspicion at length died away. He continued without much difficulty to conceal M. de Heyden in various places till a carriage which he had ordered to be made at Nuremberg arrived, and in which a hollow space had been contrived, sufficiently large to contain the prisoner at his ease. Every thing being in readiness, M. de Seelen at length set off with his friend. When he came to the first village, he left the high-road: and it was well that he did so; for the magistrates having somehow got intimation of the affair, ordered the carriage to be pursued. M. de Seeling, however, soon gained the frontiers, and arriving safe on Prussian territory, he had soon the happiness of presenting his brother-officer, to the king.

His majesty was highly delighted on seeing him, and received M. de Seelen in the most gracious manner. "You have distinguished yourself "in a brilliant manner," said the king: and these words proved the foundation of his future fortune. The heavy expences of the enterprise

terprise were not indeed fully repaid him; but during the seven year's war his advancement was rapid; the royal bounties were multiplied upon him, and extended even to his family after his glorious and untimely death.

Zieten shared the triumph of his friend. He had now given the king a new proof of the capacity and courage which distinguished his regiment, and rendered it capable of every thing. It was hoped that this happy event would change the sentiments of his majesty, and recall his former confidence in his general; but the moment of reconciliation was not yet arrived.

As the disgrace into which Zieten had fallen had not influenced either his public or military conduct, so neither did it at all affect the tenour of his domestic life, nor create that irritability of temper which renders those the victims of one's vexations, whose task it is but to soften or at most to share them. Too fond of his wife to allow himself to afflict her by the recital of his wrongs, he was always

always careful to conceal them in his own breast. His silence, however, was not the result of gloomy sorrow, which is even more distressing to love and friendship than the communications of the heart under the keenest anguish of affliction. In the bosom of his family he appeared serene and happy. He was ever desirous of seeing those about him cheerful and content: he would partake in the diversions of his daughter and her play-mates, and sometimes seem the happiest person of the whole group. Master of his own feelings, he imagined they escaped the scrutiny of a tender wife. If indeed he had wished to deceive her, it was for the sake of her own quiet: but she was not deceived; some officious friends had from time to time given her information of every thing that had happened to him. The more calm her husband outwardly appeared, the more she imagined him to be inwardly perturbated; and having less strength of mind than he, she would sometimes venture to break a silence that gave her so much pain, in order to ask him questions and to communicate her fears to him. On such

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occasions Zieten with all the delicacy of an affectionate husband would either make a short reply, or smile and give the conversation a new turn. "Every thing will go on well," he would say; "things will mend; you have "nothing to fear; place your whole confidence "in me." This was all she could draw from him; and the more she pressed him for further explanation, the more obstinately he persisted in his silence.

One day when his friends had advised Mad. de Zieten to expostulate with her husband on the too great indifference with which he treated the intrigues of his enemies, she observed, among other things, that affairs took a very serious turn, and that if the king dismissed him from his service their situation would become intolerable, as their only asylum would be the Wustrau estate, which would then belong less to him than to his creditors. Zieten, without interrupting her discourse, contemplated with a serene countenance her eyes overflowing with tears, and the more violent her affliction grew, the calmer

er he himself became; till at length with a smile which inspired confidence, he answered in the following words from holy writ: "If thou doubtest in this manner, thou shalt "never behold the promised land."

New misfortunes, however, were yet in store for him, and the hand of providence seemed to inflict the blow. Too unmindful perhaps of the machinations of his enemies and the displeasure of his sovereign, he had still severer trials to undergo. He lost his only son, in the year 1751. who died of the small pox in the ninth year of his age. With him the hopes of perpetuating his name seemed to be at an end: he was the favourite of his father, and deservedly so: nevertheless the tender and disconsolate parent bore the loss of him without murmuring; and, hanging over the dead body, he endeavoured to comfort his wife in the language of Christian resignation; "Such was the will of God," he exclaimed, "may his name be praised, and his holy will "be done."

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This misfortune was succeded by a greater, in the loss of the mother; who, in the year 1756, was snatched away from her husband's arms. Her death, which was occasioned by an inflamation of the lungs, was preceded by a series of excruciating pain. With her Zieten had enjoyed nineteen years of domestic happiness, yet at this trying moment his great mind did not sink under the pressure of affliction: he checked its effusions, and came off conqueror. Inseparable from his dying wife, continually at her bedside and witness to all her sufferings and to the last struggle that put an end to them, he maintained that calm firmness, that submissive resignation which bespeaks a perfect command of soul, which betokens and inspires courage, and imparts consolation and fortitude. His sister-in-law partook with him in the cares of which the dying person stood in need, and from him she learnt to dry her tears and to moderate her grief. She heard him utter these words over the cold remains of the deceased; "I have lost much; — I have lost every thing; beauty,

virtue, good sense, prudence, piety; for these she all possessed: the almighty, however, has taken her from me." He then stopped while her sister gave free course to her tears; and after a short and solemn pause, he gave her his hand, and casting a consoling look at her, he said with a smile of resignation, "Come, let us go down stairs; our dinner waits for us."

This firmness of character did not result from coldness or insensibility of heart; it arose from the various trials, the sad reverses of fortune which he had experienced and the religious sentiments which he had adopted. In proof of this we need only mention the tender part he always took in the misfortunes of his friends, in the general sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and the sacrifices he was ever making to alleviate them. That stoical firmness, with which he was enabled to repel the strokes of fortune, he was far from requiring from others; on the contrary, he was ever ready to honour and applaud sensibility of disposition wherever he perceived it. The

writer

writer of these pages borrows at the present moment from hand of gratitude the pencil she is making use of to delineate the picture of truth. On many occasions, during the trials of a perturbated life, she has experienced at his hands that indulgent goodness, that tender and compassionate solicitude which he was always ready to administer to timid and desponding affliction.

The last, the most severe blow that fate had in store for Zieten was now struck. After the death of his wife, fortune seemed weary of persecuting him; or rather the great disposer of the destiny of man, having weighed him in the balance, and being satisfied with the wisdom, the courage, the piety of which he had given such manifold proof, was pleased to reward his merit. Zieten, to use his own expression, after having wandered seven long years in a dreary and barren wilderness, had now arrived at the end of his painful pilgrimage. The prediction he had made to his lady was at length accomplished. She alas!

did not live long enough to enjoy that happy period; she did not enter with him into the land of promise.

Zieten had not waited till the death of his lady ere he formed and matured his plan of retiring from the busier scenes of life. From the year 1755, on the approach of the political troubles in which he foresaw the country would be involved, he had taken the resolution to be no longer the sport of his enemies. On one hand, he was too conscious of his own desert not to be fully persuaded that at the moment of explosion the king would make advances to him and call for the succour of his arm: on the other hand, he knew mankind sufficiently to be well aware that the royal favour would be only in part restored to him; that he should be exposed to the caprice of his enemies, and, by acting under their control, he should but imperfectly acquit himself of his duty to his prince and his country. He wished either to be free, or to quit the service: he was desirous that the bands

bands that connected him with Frederick should either be renewed, or entirely broken. Continual vexation had undermined his constitution; — yet in any other circumstances the prospect of war would have alone sufficed to restore him to health. At this time that prospect accelerated the declaration he made of the valetudinary state of it, and the desire he had to obtain his discharge.

This information made a deep impression upon the mind of the king. The veil dropped from before his eyes, the charm was broken, and he felt his heart resume its former warmth. He had withdrawn himself by slow degrees from Zieten, and he returned to him at a single step. To have forgotten the services of his general, he must have made many a painful effort upon himself; a single moment was sufficient to recall them to his memory. The consideration of the war, together with the apprehensions of losing one of his best officers, new restored the king to himself, and to Zieten. The monarch assumed a new kind of be-

behaviour, made every possible advance, and did not conceive he lowered his dignity by holding out his hand to the man whom he had for so long a time repulsed.

He perhaps flattered himself that a single step would be sufficient to gain his point. The smile of a monarch commonly can work miracles: but Zieten was not one of those whom a word or a look could subdue. The more assiduously the king made inquiry after his health, the worse his disorder became; the more probable the breaking out of the war appeared, the slower was Zieten's recovery. The king at length began to perceive that by such measures he should gain nothing, and had recourse to others more likely indeed to succeed, had he employed any other person to sound the general than his inveterate enemy.

This person, who had no mean opinion of his own abilities, officiously undertook the commission. He called upon Zieten, and in the course of conversation asked him, as if by mere

mere accident, what he intended to do in case a war should break out; he likewise made particular inquiry into the state of his health, and hoped it would not prevent his joining the army.

Zieten was not unprepared for the visit; he suspected the object of it, and received the royal emissary with suitable dignity and caution. "It is absolutely impossible for me," he replied, "to undertake the campaign. Since I lost the king's favour I have been a continual prey to vexations which have impaired my health and depressed my courage. I cannot see in what manner I can be useful. I can neither change my tactics nor my conduct: unfortunately both have displeased the king and involved me in disgrace. With principles like mine it is impossible to shift: I shall be an encumbrance to the army, a mere machine without spring or motion." The emissary urged every thing that he could suggest by way of counteracting this firm and precise declaration, and, on pretence of the warm interest

rest he took in the general's welfare, he began to insinuate with all the art of a courtier, that it would cost him nothing to be re-instated in the good graces of the monarch, that a single word would remove every obstacle in his way. Zieten, however, would not accept a pardon from the king: it was justice not pardon that he looked for at his hands; nor could he condescend to owe that justice to the intercession of an enemy. He therefore remained firm in his purpose. Often too his keen and deliberate replies disconcerted the negotiator; often was the latter made to blush by the indirect and merited reproaches which were glanced at him, as well as overawed by a look of superiority that occasionally animated the countenance of the general. At length, turning his own arms against him, Zieten assumed for a moment the language of friendship and confidence, and earnestly entreated him to use all his influence with the king to obtain the discharge he so much wished for. This last stroke drove the adversary from the field of battle: he had been confident of success

cess, and he now felt himself ashamed to make his report to the king.

Frederick had the return of Zieten too much at heart not to determine upon making another attempt. What had been refused to the favourite, might, he conceived, be granted to the monarch; the subject, he hoped, might yield to the solicitation of his master. He therefore resolved to call himself upon Zieten, and alone.

Every thing depended upon this critical moment. A yes or a no was to decide the general's fate: whether he was to give himself up to his country, or to pass the rest of his days in inglorious ease, was now to be determined. The result was happy. Zieten, his future exploits, his glory, were all preserved, and secured for the king and for Prussia.

Frederick had hoped that his irresistible eloquence would have proved a sufficient cure for the general's assumed indisposition, and he at first attempted to make him acknowledge his faults, and was desirous to persuade him, that

that he himself had been the sole cause of the misunderstanding which had so long subsisted between them. He closed his harangue with a promise of forgetting every thing that had passed, and held out his hand in token of reconciliation.

He thought he had done all that was necessary to do; and indeed he had done much for a prince like Frederick the Great. But he went too far with Zieten when he required him to take upon himself the whole of the blame, to acknowledge faults of which he had not been guilty, and negligences which he had not fallen into, and to consider as a favour the recovery of the good graces of his sovereign. The wrongs of which Zieten had to complain were too deeply rooted in his memory. In the struggle that was necessary to enable him to tear himself from his king and his country, his feelings had been too deeply wounded to admit of an easy cure. He listened in profound silence to the representations of the monarch, but he heard them with-

without yielding himself up to them, and the moment of reconciliation began to appear more distant than ever, when the good genius of Prussia prompted the king with the following words: "No; it cannot be possible that Zieten, my faithful general, on the approach of a perilous war, should abandon his king and his country, whose confidence he so fully possesses!"

These few words triumphed over the firmness of our hero and found the way to his heart. He threw himself at the monarch's feet and vowed to shed the last drop of his blood in his service.

After this declaration he laid aside all further reserve, and confessed the painfulness of the struggles he had undergone to suppress his sentiments of patriotism, and which he would have been utterly unable to suppress had he not been convinced, that deprived of his master's confidence, he was nothing, and, that possessed of it, he was equal to every thing.

thing. He added, with a frankness worthy of his character and of him to whom he was addressing himself, that the persons who had injured him in the esteem of his beloved sovereign were not unknown to him; that he had marked the progressive measures they had taken to bring about his ruin; that those persons persecuted him out of mere envy; that he despised them too much to fear them, or to apprehend that they should succeed a second time in depriving him of the royal favour; that, in truth, the vexations he had suffered had considerably impaired his health, yet he should not on that account refrain from joining the army and partaking with the meanest soldier in the toils and dangers of war and the contest for victory or death. This sincere declaration touched the monarch's heart, who in order to seal that generous union, which death was only to dissolve, embraced his general with the tenderest effusion of friendship.

Zieten having from this moment recovered his native energy of mind and all the vigour of

of youth, was eager to begin that celebrated war, in which, for the space of seven years, both himself and his regiment were destined to display those proofs of ability, which, during as many years of peace, his enemies had not allowed them to possess. The king raised him to the rank of lieutenant-general before the opening of the campaign: his commission is dated August the 12th, 1756. The campaign at length opened. The king put himself at the head of his army, and Zieten accompanied him at the head of his own regiment. The eyes of all Prussia were fixed upon them, and their past exploits were considered as a sufficient earnest of future victories!

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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